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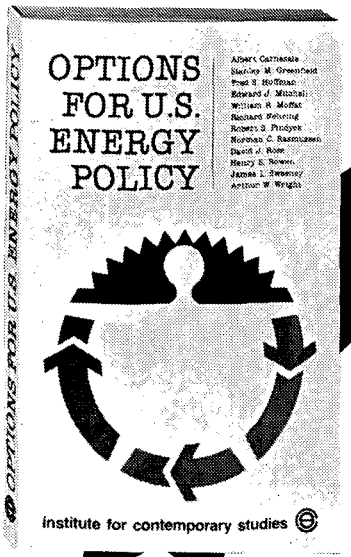

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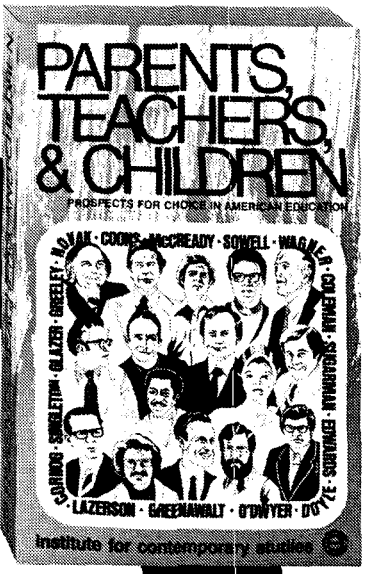

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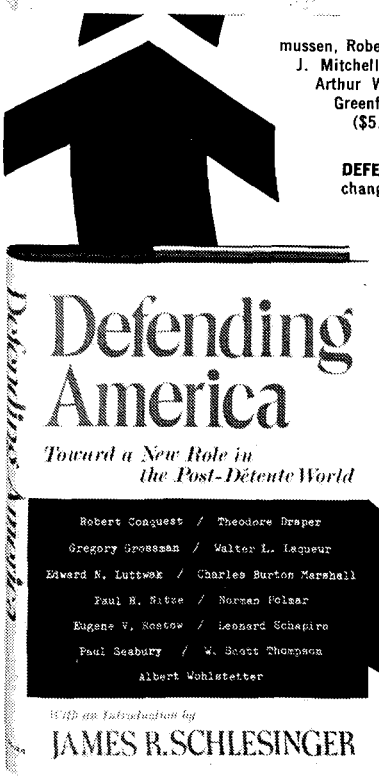
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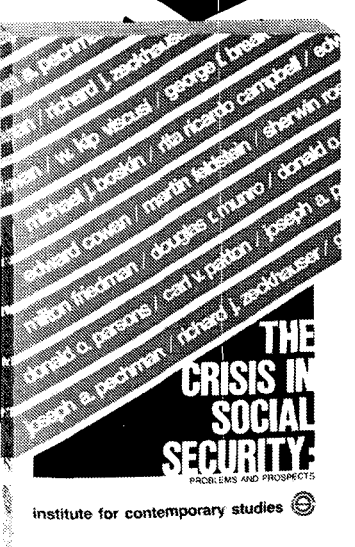

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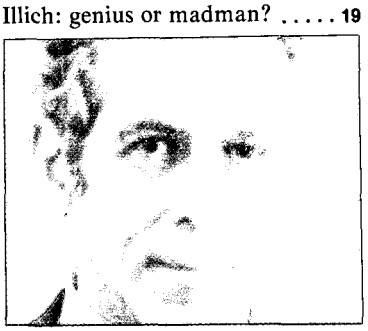

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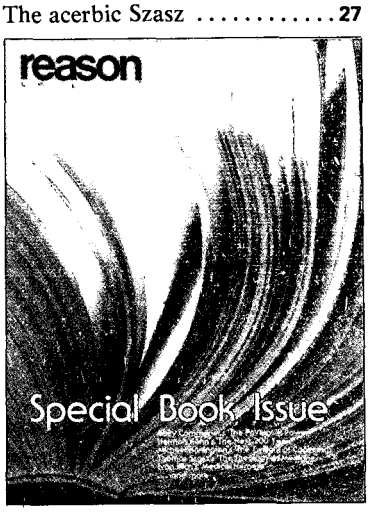

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letters

Defending Szasz

John B. Kizer's article about the views of Thomas Szasz [July] grossly misses the point. Kizer writes, "Szasz opposes the application of the medical model to psychiatry mainly because he sees the logic of the diagnosis of conventional organic disease as being different from the logic of the diagnosis of mental illness. The diagnosis of conventional illness, he notes, is scientific and objective, whereas the diagnosis of mental illness by psychiatrists requires a value judgement on their part, which makes it fundamentally different from conventional diagnosis."

He goes on to note that according to at least one authority, organic normality is something less than clear-cut. So, he concludes, Szasz's distinction is nonexistent.

Kizer has either misread Szasz or forgotten one of his key points. It concerns Szasz's reason for drawing a distinction between the two kinds of diagnoses.

Of course, judgements are made in each case, but it is what is being judged that makes the crucial difference. In psychiatry, what is being judged as a symptom of disease is human action, that is, human choice—which is to say that all of this is placed squarely in the court of ethics. In organic diagnosis, what is being judged are non-volitional, that is, non-ethical, matters, for instance, "the serum amylase content" of a person.

A body chemical level that is statistically abnormal is not analogous (in any material way) to statistically abnormal behavior. Such a statement smacks of a reductionism that has been refuted countless times over.

I am puzzled as to where Dr. Szasz contends that when a mental illness can be diagnosed with "only a nominal value judgement they are no longer mental illnesses, but, rather, physical illnesses." It seems to me Dr. Szasz has written on more than one occasion that either an illness is organic or it is no illness at all.

If Mr. Kizer has any doubts about Dr. Szasz's views on schizophrenia, I refer him to the doctor's recent book, *Schizophrenia, The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry.*

Kizer's second point concerning involuntary hospitalization falls with the first. Suffice it to say that there is a world of difference between assuming that an unconscious person would want medical treatment and imposing "treatment" over the objections of a conscious "patient."

To assert, as Kizer does, that treatment should be given to "mentally ill" persons who "appear incapable of asking for help" is to load the game on behalf of institutional psychiatry and obliterate ethics and individual liberty at the same time.

Sheldon Richman
Philadelphia, PA

Involuntary Therapy

Contrary to John B. Kizer's statements, Szasz's rejection of the concept of "mental illness" in no way depends on the existence of clearcut universal standards of physiological health lacking for mental health. Rather, Szasz's argument is that all mental processes (barring physiological abnormalities disrupting the nervous system's workings) are volitional or chosen, and that consequently all standards by which they are judged are moral standards. To say that someone's physiological condition is one of illness means simply that it is unfavorable to survival and/or reproduction. To say that his mental condition is one of illness is to pass unfavorable judgement on his choices, or to condemn him morally. When the "illness" being diagnosed, in other words, is manifested only in the choices a person makes, that "diagnosis" is a moral judgement de facto. One may view "moral" conduct as being that which furthers life through the exercise of choice, making it a species of the same genus as "health"—as Branden does—but the presence of choice is a vital differentia. "Illness," Szasz argues, is understood as something involuntary, something which happens to a person despite his desires, but it is not possible to say this of chosen behavior.

This makes the claim that someone has benefitted from involuntary mental "therapy" problematic. The aim of such therapy is to change his choices. That makes his consent, after the fact, very poor evidence that he would have wanted it. "Deprogramming" or brainwashing or systematic torture could easily be considered voluntary with this standard of evidence. I doubt that Szasz would object to forcibly preventing someone whose mental condition was physiologically disturbed in some way (e.g., drugs) from killing himself, until he returned to a physiologically normal state and could decide for himself whether to live or die; but "psychotherapy" aimed at changing his

conduct or ideas, without his prior uncoerced consent, clearly deserves all the criticism he gives it. Consent after the fact is legitimate for treatment of physical illness, but not for forcible moral conversion.

Indeed, anyone who considers that chosen acts can be evaluated by a life-centered ethics should be mistrustful of all such programs of moral retraining. The process of making choices, from that viewpoint, is an essential part of human life. To reject that process or seek to bypass it for the sake of installing correct specific values (judged by this standard) is a self-defeating process: one must encourage reliance on one's own powers of choice, if those powers are ever to be used well. The coercive context of involuntary psychotherapy can only act to prevent such reliance, since it is all too likely to lead "patients" to reject the authority of "therapists" and demand their own freedom. Szasz's claim is that virtually all involuntary psychotherapy is in fact motivated by this very desire to produce moral conformity, which in fact is positively detrimental to the mental functioning of the subjects of such "therapy"; that the concern for their welfare is just a smokescreen for authoritarianism. It is my opinion that he is entirely right.

William H. Stoddard
Chula Vista, CA

Mr. Kizer replies: When Mr. Richman says that psychiatric diagnosis is based on volitional action and medical diagnosis on non-volitional action, his argument involves a *petitio principii* because it is just this volitional character of so-called insane behavior which is in question. To state simply that one is volitional and the other non-volitional is, it seems to me, to miss the cleverness of Dr. Szasz's reasoning, which was to provide a *foundation for believing* that "the things being judged" (to use Mr. Richman's words) are essentially different by arguing that they require a different method of diagnosis. To state that mental character is volitional and physical character non-volitional without a buttressing argument is merely to beg the question.

Mr. Stoddard falls into the same logical trap because he *assumes* that the judged behavior is volitional when this is, in fact, the point at issue in the debate.

As far as involuntary treatment of mental patients is concerned, I fully share Mr. Stoddard's fear concerning the danger of "verifying" the validity of treatment by techniques that could be considered akin to brainwashing. That is the reason I emphasize that those who are merely eccentric or who hold views which others find disagreeable are *not* eligibles for involuntary hospitalization. Using the same principle that one uses for involuntary medical treatment, I propose that only those who are totally incapable of caring for themselves should be involuntarily treated for mental disorders. My guess is that this would be a fraction of one percent of our present mental hospital population—**J.B.K.**

Nuclear Solution

I was surprised that in the July article on defense only one piece, by R.J. Rummel, dealt with the central defense issue of our time—Soviet agression—and then only in order to make the standard arguments in favor of intervention.

It is not necessary to minimize the Soviet threat—as some libertarians do—in order to justify the practicality of a policy of isolationism. We should not alienate potential libertarians by the constant linkage of isolationism with a minimization of Soviet aggression.

For, given the boundless desire of the Soviet slave-masters to rule the world, *isolationism* would give us the best assurance of resisting, even neutralizing, the Soviet threat; further, it is the policy of intervention that is sapping the will and ability of the semi-free world to resist. This view could be argued at great length; however, a few comments contrasting the effects of present policy with the probable effects of isolationism should show its plausibility.

The objection often made to free market defense agencies is that there will be free riders, persons not paying for the service, but enjoying the benefit of protection while maintaining a higher standard of living. Those paying for the service will eventually realize this and reduce their contributions to defense, leaving the area vulnerable to outside aggression. This parasitic relationship applies to the U.S. vis-a-vis its allies and client states.

This praxeological reality is the cause of the weakening of the "will of the West" Solzhenitsyn has warned us of—not the loss of Christian values, the decadence of socialism, the natural progression of democratic states, etc.

To statists, the preservation of the State as an independent entity open only to domestic plunderers is the summum bonum. Regardless of ideology, social system, or indifference on the part of the citizenry, the ruling clique will attempt to preserve the independence of the State.

But, given a free ride under the American nuclear umbrella, the United Kingdom and Japan are virtually disarmed, preferring to spend their money on other goods—socialism in the U.K. and economic development in Japan. Other countries, in exchange for U.S. protection and aid, have sacrificed their independence in both foreign and domestic policy and have pledged, under duress, not to break the nuclear monopoly of the superpowers. (The French have been able to pursue a more independent course because they can enjoy the benefit of a first-line defense by the United States and West Germany without making any commitment.)

What would happen if the United States adopted a policy of isolationism? Nuclear proliferation and the emergence of a truly "multi-polar" world order would be the most significant results. In a world in which nations are not disarmed down to police levels, nuclear weapons are essential to defense: just as the gun equalizes the force between the weak and strong, so nuclear weapons equalize the force between small and large countries. And, in a world in which there are nuclear weapons, the country without them is practically disarmed with respect to those who do.

If at present, as Mr. Rummel contends, "without the United States no combination of countries has the power jointly to stand-up to Soviet demands," with nuclear arms they would. The aggregate economic capacity of the threatened countries (West European, Mid-Eastern and Pacific) to sustain military expenditures far exceeds that of the Warsaw Pact nations. True, none of these countries could individually withstand Soviet aggression—so what? The defense of weaker powers, including at one time the United States, has always rested on the strategy of maintaining the ability to inflict casualties on the stronger power that are greater than the value of the threatened state. A Finland with nuclear weapons will end Finlandization.

Consistant with the principle of non-aggression, the United States should institute an open arms trade in which American companies would deal directly with foreign powers and bear all the risks. Given the choice between paying cash for American arms or mortgaging their national independence for Soviet freebies, other States would have a powerful inclination toward the former.

Joe Paul Barnett
Arlington, TX

Down with Pessimists

I do not share Scott Royce's pessimism regarding the LP's election results [August]. First of all, most of those "top 35" third parties since 1900 have either appeared once and vanished or appeared a few times at irregular intervals. I doubt that this will happen to the LP, since its platform is inspiring, consistent, and

principled. After all, the facts of reality are on our side. One cannot say the same things about any other "third party"—mixed economy or socialistic all.

Besides, most of them showed up in the earlier parts of this century. This is not a good time for third parties, only four of which have done better than the '76 LP, counting from 1960. And consider that in just four years the LP has outstripped the Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party, and all those other crazies. Well done!

The big problem now is not to worry about pessimists like Scott Royce, but to field candidates for the 1978 Congressional and Senatorial races. Good luck!

John Lawson
Burlington, Ontario

Press Coverage?

Mr. Crane [August] tells us that the great value of the Libertarian Party consists, at least in large part, in its ability to obtain good press coverage for the ideals of liberty, free market, civil liberties, etc. And Mr. Crane also notes that the LP has achieved this end, of getting the press coverage, beyond expectations.

What then are we to make of Roger MacBride's talk at the recent LP national convention in San Francisco? Mr. MacBride took almost on hour to tell us how shamefully the press ignored him and the ideals he tried to communicate to the American public. Mr. Crane and Mr. MacBride really should try to get their act together. The LP probably merits support from us, but if we rely on these gentlemen to tell us why, we will never find out.

Conrad Speeder
Redwood City, CA

Hayek, Friedman, and Money

REASON's interview with Milton Friedman [August] contains some interesting remarks about F.A. Hayek's proposal for denationalization of money. I believe Friedman is correct in his disagreement with Hayek over the consequences of denationalizing money. However, Hayek's proposal would only need one minor addition in order to have the wide ranging effects its author envisions. That addition would be repeal of all laws that forbid counterfeiting. (Repealing all copyright and patent laws would also help.) Fiat money would quickly loose all value as a result of its susceptibility to reproduction. People would switch to making their transactions with valuable commodities instead of Uncle Sam's garbage and Hayek's predictions would come true.

Kenneth A. Hopf
Madision, WI

reason's comment of the month

The letter below, by subscriber Calvin Moser, appeared in the August 1, 1977 issue of the Peoria, IL *Journal Star.*

TERMINATING JOBS

Recently the President signed a bill that would "create jobs." Congress authorized $40 billion for this purpose. Where is the money coming from to "create" those jobs? Where "government" money always comes from; it is confiscated from current or future earnings of the people.

Now consider what would happen if the money had not been confiscated from those who earned it. They would have spent, or invested, it. Since they were denied the privilege of spending their own money, it stands to reason that jobs were lost because their money was not available to them to spend on goods or services.

Looking at it from that perspective it would, with equal logic, be called the "job termination bill."

Where then is the real economic gain? There is none. Why then act at all? Politics. The jobs "created" are highly visible and can be pointed to by politicians to show what they have done. It is very much more difficult to see the jobs "terminated" because they are diffused throughout the whole economy and cannot be specifically pointed out.

Is it then a trade-off between jobs "created" and jobs "terminated?" Hardly, for two reasons. First, a host of bureaucrats will feed in that $40 billion trough before the first job is "created." Second, who is to spend the money? Those who earned it or those who have the power to confiscate it? It is the central question of our time, not only in job "termination" but in every facet of our national life.

Calvin Moser
Roanoke, IL

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Misquoted

The quotation which you attribute to me in the August issue, "The Interstate Commerce Commission should be abolished, its buildings torn down, and the ground sown with salt," is not mine, but that of an able former colleague at the University of Maryland, Professor Hugh S. Norton, now of the University of South Carolina.

I habitually quote the line in my concluding lecture in the undergraduate transportation course, but I make the point that the recommendation seems to me extreme. The salt would have undesirable ecological consequences. Similarly, the ICC's building is a fine example of work of one of America's best classical architects, Arthur Brown, Jr., and could be used for some useful purpose, such as housing the organization entrusted with levying user charges on the inland rivers, for example.

George W. Hilton
Dept. of Economics, UCLA
Los Angeles, CA

(REASON *regrets its error in attributing the comment directly to Prof. Hilton. We picked up the quote verbatim from the* Wall Street Journal, *which apparently erred in its attribution—Ed.*)

Nonsmokers' Rights

As a non-smoking libertarian, I feel compelled to comment on a statement made by Robert Poole in June's editorial titled "Saccharin and Human Liberty." Poole lumps cigarette smoking with swimming, skiing, hang-gliding, etc., as a risky action which an individual has the right to take. Since a very good case can be made that cigarette smoking is dangerous to the innocent bystander as well as to the

Continued on p. 65.

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Torpedo the Floating OPEC

editorial

An OPEC-like organization aimed at cartelizing vital world mineral resources may be stopped in its tracks if Congress has the courage to defy world opinion. The organization is the UN's Group of 77—composed originally of 77 (now 107) Third World governments. The minerals include manganese, nickel, cobalt, and copper—all found in potato-size manganese nodules three miles below the surface of the ocean.

The value of known manganese nodule deposits has been estimated at $3 trillion. The Pacific Ocean deposits alone double known world resources of copper and nickel. More important to Americans, access to manganese nodules will substantially reduce U.S. dependence on mineral imports—which now provide 93 percent of our manganese, 92 percent of our cobalt, 71 percent of our nickel, and 9 percent of our copper.

The plans for the manganese nodule cartel predate the OPEC oil embargo. They began surfacing 10 years ago this month when Malta's UN ambassador, Arvid Pardo, first set forth the collectivist notion that the seabed—and any minerals found thereon—is the "common heritage of all mankind." This concept originated with Elisabeth Mann Borgese of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Under Borgese's and Pardo's prodding, the United Nations began holding a series of Law of the Sea conferences. A principal issue at them was Borgese's plan for an International Seabed Authority—an international regime that would control all seabed mining, distributing the profits to the Third World. Both the Johnson and Nixon administrations gave lip service to the common heritage principle and the ISA proposal—at least until the OPEC embargo. Only then did it begin to dawn on State Department officials that an ISA amounted to a new cartel that could hold the Western world to ransom. Since 1974 U.S. officials have been backing away from full-fledged support of the ISA, arguing instead for parallel development of commercial and ISA mining.

Meanwhile, four private international consortiums have continued investing millions of dollars in developing the technology to mine and process manganese nodules. Furthest ahead is Deepsea Ventures, owned jointly by U.S. Steel, Sun Oil, Tenneco, and Belgium's Union Miniere. Deepsea startled the world when, three years ago this month, it filed with the State Department a "Notice of Discovery and Claim of Exclusive Mining Rights." The claim covers a 23,000 sq. mi. segment of seabed rich in manganese nodules, about 900 miles southwest of San Diego. The company has invested about $50 million to date in prospecting, exploring, and developing the claimed deposit.

In preparing and filing its claim, Deepsea followed in the libertarian footsteps of John Locke. It came upon a previously unowned resource, identified a workable quantity, mixed its labor with it, and announced its claim for all to hear. According to noted attorney Northcutt Ely, under existing treaty and customary international law, as well as under general principles of law, Deepsea may acquire exclusive rights in a seabed mineral deposit by "discovery, filing of notice, occupation, and due diligence in exploitation." Such rights apply without any need for assertion of territorial jurisdiction *and* are enforceable in domestic, foreign, and international courts, wrote Ely. Morally and legally, it is Deepsea, not "all mankind" or the Group of 77, that owns the nodules in its claim.

Why doesn't that settle the issue? For one thing, the Law of the Sea conferences are still continuing, and are still talking of setting up an ISA. As a result, banks have been reluctant to lend Deepsea and the others the additional capital needed to set up full-scale mining operations. The mining companies are therefore lobbying Congress to enact a bill that would compensate them (via tax money) for any losses arising out of a future ISA treaty. It would also require the companies to deposit part of their profits in an escrow account for eventual payment as licensing fees to an ISA.

More than the future of seabed mining hangs in the balance. If the Group of 77 has its way, the remaining two-thirds of the earth's suface will pass from freedom into collective ownership. The mining companies, in their impatience to begin production, are all too willing to undercut the morality of their ownership claims by coming to terms with an ISA, conceding its right to exact tribute (and counting on the taxpayers in the event the tribute proves too large).

Yet there is an alternative that would preserve the principles of property rights and freedom of the seas. That alternative is simply to avoid *any* UN-backed "international regime" for the seabed. As the Ely opinion made clear, *existing* international law is sufficient to establish rights in seabed resources. All that is required is for those parties with legitimate interests at stake—the mining companies and the governments of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe—to agree among themselves to recognize and respect such claims.

The no-treaty alternative has been picking up support. Many oceanographers have concluded that no treaty would be preferably to the present draft, because the latter would "cripple future marine scientific research," in the words of the Ocean Policy Committee of the National Academy of Sciences. At a 1975 conference cosponsored by the Treasury Department and American Enterprise Institute, law professor Gary Knight pointed out that there is a strong case against the United States signing any UN sea law treaty. A stable framework for ocean industry could instead be provided, he said, by domestic legislation to register claims, bilateral or multilateral treaties for mutual recognition of claims, and limited use of force "to protect deep-seabed mining operations being conducted contrary to a Group of 77 seabed treaty." In July of this year the *Wall Street Journal* recommended U.S. withdrawal from the Law of the Sea negotiations.

There *is* a role for U.S. legislation—but not the present compromise approach. Congress should make clear that the United States rejects—for all time—the concept of an International Seabed Authority. It should be U.S. policy to recognize all valid claims by private parties and to reject, as a matter of law, any attempt by the UN or other international bodies to license, regulate, or tax seabed mining. That should be sufficient to relieve the bankers of their fears. No recourse to the taxpayers' wallets is required.

The UN's floating OPEC must be rejected. The "common heritage of mankind" is not collective ownership of seabed minerals. It is, rather, says Northcutt Ely, the "continuing right of free and nondiscriminatory access, free of price control, free of production control, free of restraints of accommodation and restraint of trade." That heritage is called freedom of the seas. And *that* is what we must preserve.

Robert Poole, Jr.

The Ultimate Tax Shelter

by
TED NICHOLAS

Tax experts are now referring to a small, privately owned corporation as "The Ultimate Tax Shelter." This is especially true since the passage of the Tax Reform Act of 1976. This law makes most former tax shelters either obsolete, or of little advantage. Investments affected include real estate, oil and gas drilling, cattle feeding, movies, etc. These former tax shelters have lost their attractiveness. Aside from that, these tax shelters required a large investment. Only a small segment of the population could benefit from them.

I've written a book showing how you can form your own corporation. I've taken all the mystery out of it. Thousands of people have already used the system for incorporation described in the book. I'll describe how you may obtain it without risk and with a valuable free bonus.

A corporation can be formed by anyone at surprisingly low cost. And the government encourages people to incorporate, which is a little known fact. The government has recognized the important role of small business in our country. Through favorable legislation incorporating a small business, hobby, or sideline is perfectly legal and ethical. There are numerous tax laws favorable to corporate owners. Some of them are remarkable in this age of ever-increasing taxation. Everyone of us needs all the tax shelter we can get!

Here are just a few of the advantages of having my book on incorporating. You can limit your personal liability. All that is at stake is the money you have invested. This amount can be zero to a few hundred or even a few thousand dollars. Your home, furniture, car, savings, or other possessions are not at risk. You can raise capital and still keep control of your business. You can put aside up to 25% of your income tax free. If you desire, you may wish to set up a non-profit corporation or operate a corporation anonymously. You will save from $300 to $1,000 simply by using the handy tear-out forms included in the book. All the things you need: certificate of incorporation, minutes, by-laws, etc., including complete instructions.

There are still other advantages. Your own corporation enables you to more easily maintain continuity and facilitate transfer of ownership. Tax free fringe benefits can be arranged. You can set up your health and life insurance and other programs for you and your family wherein they are tax deductible. Another very important option available to you through incorporation is a medical reimbursement plan (MRP). Under an MRP, all medical, dental, pharmaceutical expenses for you and your family can become tax deductible to the corporation. An unincorporated person must exclude the first 3% of family's medical expenses from a personal tax return. For an individual earning $20,000 the first $600 are not deductible.

Retirement plans, and pension and profit-sharing arrangements can be set up for you with far greater benefits than those available to self-employed individuals.

A word of caution. Incorporating may not be for you right now. However, my book will help you decide whether or not a corporation is for you now or in the future. I review all the advantages and disadvantages in depth. This choice is yours after learning all the options. If you do decide to incorporate, it can be done by mail quickly and within 48 hours. You never have to leave the privacy of your home.

I'll also reveal to you some startling facts. Why lawyers often charge substantial fees for incorporating when often they prefer not to, and why two-thirds of the New York and American Stock Exchange companies incorporate in Delaware.

You may wonder how others have successfully used the book. Not only a small unincorporated business, but enjoyable hobbies, part time businesses, and even existing jobs have been set up as full fledged corporations. You don't have to have a big business going to benefit. In fact, not many people realize some very important facts. There are 30,000 new businesses formed in the U.S. each and every month. 98% of them are small businesses; often just one individual working from home.

To gain all the advantages of incorporating, it doesn't matter where you live, your age, race, or sex. All that counts is your ideas. If you are looking for some new ideas, I believe my book will stimulate you in that area. I do know many small businessmen, housewives, hobbyists, engineers, and lawyers who have acted on the suggestions in my book. A woman who was my former secretary is incorporated. She is now grossing over $30,000 working from her home by providing a secretarial service to me and other local businesses. She works her own hours and has all the corporate advantages.

I briefly mentioned that you can start with no capital whatsoever. I know it can be done, since I have formed 18 companies of my own, and I began each one of them with nothing. Beginning at age 22, I incorporated my first company which was a candy manufacturing concern. Without credit or experience, I raised $96,000. From that starting point grew a chain of 30 stores. I'm proud of the fact that at age 29 I was selected by a group of businessmen as one of the outstanding businessmen in the nation. As a result of this award, I received an invitation to personally meet with the President of the United States.

I wrote my book, **How To Form Your Own Corporation Without A Lawyer For Under $50**, because I felt that many more people than otherwise would could become the President of their own corporations. As it has turned out, a very high proportion of all the corporations formed in America each month, at the present time are using my book to incorporate.

Just picture yourself in the position of President of your own corporation. My book gives you all the information you need to make your decision. Let me help you make your business dreams come true.

As a bonus for ordering my book now, I'll send you absolutely free a portfolio of valuable information. It's called "The Incom Plan" and normally sells for $9.95. It describes a unique plan that shows you how to convert most any job into your own corporation. You'll increase your take-home pay by up to 25% without an increase in salary or even changing jobs in many cases. If you are an employer, learn how to operate your business with independent contractors rather than employees. This means that you'll have no payroll records or withholding taxes to worry about. And you'll be complying with all I.R.S. guidelines. "The Incom Plan" includes forms, examples and sample letter agreements to make it possible.

I personally guarantee your purchase in the fairest way I know. If you feel my book is not all that I've described, return it undamaged within a full year and I'll promptly refund your money with no questions asked. If you should decide to return it, you may keep the bonus Incom Portfolio for your trouble.

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brickbats

□ **To hell with Japan!** We predict that the hoplophobes's next showcase of gun control will be Malaysia, where a 14 year old boy was just sentenced to death for possessing an unlicensed handgun and ammunition. Said the judge, "If a person is charged under the Internal Security Act, there is no difference between a juvenile and an adult." Of course. *Salus tyranni suprema lex.*

□ **Everything Not Compulsory Is Forbidden Dept.:** According to UPI (August 4, 1977) a Miami TV station reported that the Bay of Pigs Veterans Brigade 2506, a revolutionary Cuban exile group, abandoned its plans for a "sea invasion" of Cuba early this summer because the US tipped off Havana during diplomatic talks at the UN. The State Department did not confirm the invasion report but admitted it had warned the Castro regime against "possible terrorist acts," so called. Apparently the State Department's notorious counter-revolutionary bias extends even to anti-communist revolutions. Maybe we libertarians should start promoting the idea that revolution, between consenting adults, is also a victimless crime.

□ **Professor John Quigley,** who recently led a National Lawyers Guild delegation on a tour of Israeli-occupied territories, claims that Israeli security forces "frequently" torture Arab political prisoners to get confessions; indeed, that they make "a policy of torture." (AP; August 4, 1977.) True or not, in June the London *Times* reported three cases in which Arabs claimed they had been tortured with beatings, electric shocks and sexual assault. And in April, 1970, Amnesty International, *the* leading human rights group, released a study reportedly titled *Report on Israeli Methods of Torture,* alleging such grisly practices as applying fire to genitals. Why such charges keep cropping up may be explained by Quigley's description of Israeli military "justice" in security cases: "No lawyer may be present until questioning has ended, little evidence besides a confession is required for conviction and confessions are drafted in Hebrew, which most detainees do not understand. [Quigley] also quoted an Israeli lawyer, Leah Tsemel of Jerusalem, as saying 90 percent of the convictions are based on confessions with little corroboration." And the Israelis didn't exactly help matters by refusing to let Quigley's group visit their military prisons (AI's request to see the prisons was also refused).

□ **Although it is claimed** that black Rhodesians can own land in 99.5 percent of the country, some residential suburbs are among the remaining one-half of a percent. So Mrs. Florrie Adams picked up the newspaper and read that the Salisbury Municipal Council had ordered her and her family evicted from their home in a suburb reserved for whites. The Adamses are "colored" (of mixed black and European ancestry) and so cannot live in the all-white Prospect suburb of Rhodesia's capital, even though their son is subject to annual military servitude like all non-black Rhodesian men. Mrs. Adams's husband also works for a company that builds anti-guerrilla security fences. But "when you are suddenly told that you must get out of your house like this," she says bitterly, "you start wondering why they are risking their lives." No doubt some of our right-wing libertarians would say: because white rule has brought Rhodesia more bathtubs per capita than any nation in black Africa. Up with "free" enterprise!

□ **You may recall** ex-Army Colonel Anthony Herbert, exposer of war crimes, and his autobiography *Soldier* (Holt, Rinehart, Winston; 1973). In it, he mentions his brush with the Phoenix program; a CIA political assassination scheme during the Vietnam War. "What they wanted me to do," says Herbert, "was to take charge of execution teams that wiped out entire families and tried to make it appear as if the VC themselves had done the killing." Herbert refused (the victims were chosen rather cavalierly, for one thing) but remarks "The fellow running Phoenix at the time [November 1965] was a Colonel Singlaub, now General, though I believe he used a cover name." Unless there are two of them, then, this must be Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub; the poor, hard-done-to bastard whom Carter removed from his post as commander of US forces in Korea when he objected to Carter's proposed troop withdrawals. He can be thankful he wasn't removed, like the 20,000 plus victims of Phoenix, with "extreme prejudice."

□ **It seems appropriate to record,** for posterity, some of the comments made in opposition to the Panama Canal treaty. Most rangey: "the US has been bluffed and bullied out of the Panama Canal by a Marxist thug who runs a national guard of a few thousand troops"—Pat Buchanan's contribution to rational discourse. But political teratotaxonomists also noted columnist John Chamberlain's *caveat*: "With US police jobs [in the Canal Zone] being turned over to the Panamanians, who knows how many Castroites would be telling Americans where to park their cars or when to put out their lights?" And that isn't the worst of it; under the treaty, "US Customs employees will lose their jobs immediately...PX and Army commissary privileges [for Zonians] would be discontinued after 5 years, with no compensatory cost of living subsidy from the US government." *Oh piteous spectacle!* Some claim that Chamberlain is a "libertarian." Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) is distressed that the Torrijos regime has saddled the 1.7 million citizens of Panama with a $1.5 billion national debt. "If they cannot operate their government effectively," asks Hatch, "how can they operate an international canal necessary to world trade?" (The Torrijos debt would be equivalent to a US debt of $196 billion—less than what Nixon and Ford ran up all by themselves.) Hatch fears that Panama would increase Canal tolls to cover the Canal's operating deficit—$7.2 million last year; talk about "effective government"!—causing "financial problems" for Latin America if Uncle Sap doesn't subsidize its shipping. Some claim that Hatch is a "conservative." Perhaps they are right, and protectionism, foreign aid and the welfare state are all "conservative" or even "libertarian" icons. More probably Messrs. Hatch and Chamberlain are temporarily insane, maddened by grief upon learning that Teddy Roosevelt thieved in vain. *Bully.*

□ **Frontiers of Free Enterprise Dept.:** Mr. Frank Kartesy, a Pennsylvania high school teacher, has invented a coin-operated vending machine for live bait. For one dollar, Pennsylvania fishermen can get a package of 15 night crawlers, 70 meal worms, or 30 to 40 maggots.

Bill Birmingham

Council officials in Southend have been ordered to make sure there is no cover-up among topless dancers in seafront pubs. Complaints have been received that the girls are not topless and acting under the Trades Description Act consumer protection officials are attending sessions to make sure that everything is on view.

New Statesman

Biophysicist Carey Reams says:

"Heart attacks can be foreseen from minutes to months in advance– and prevented"

Biophysicist Carey Reams has spent much of his life in research of nutrition and heart disease. His reputation for successfully helping heart patients has grown to international fame. People with heart problems fly to visit him from Africa, Australia, Korea, Japan, Germany, Spain, Italy, England, Ireland, Alaska, Canada, Mexico, South America and other parts of the world. His classes in nutrition are attended by medical doctors who come from all over the globe. Since 1970 alone, Carey Reams has designed special nutritional programs for over 8,000 heart patients.

Now in an exclusive interview with *The Healthview Newsletter*, Carey Reams discusses his unorthodox and controversial views on detecting oncoming heart attacks—and how to prevent them.

What makes Reams say that heart attacks can be detected in advance?

"Heart attacks do not suddenly jump on anyone. Like other diseases, heart attacks have symptoms that can be detected in advance."

How can oncoming heart attacks be detected? Reams Answer:

"There is a urine test that can pick up the heart attack danger zone. It is very accurate. Anyone found in the danger zone who ignores the warning is virtually committing suicide."

Can a person usually feel the symptoms of an oncoming heart attack?

"Not necessarily. You can feel as if you are in excellent health and yet be in imminent danger of a massive and perhaps fatal heart attack."

How to prevent an oncoming attack

In this exclusive interview, Reams describes in detail how the urine test works, what it can tell you about your heart's health, and where you can conveniently take it.

Furthermore, he explains his views on . . .

- Two common body toxins that he believes cause most heart attacks. How to flush them out of your system.
- How to de-clog your arteries of cholesterol gently, naturally and safely.
- A special health product that can remove you from the heart attack "danger zone" in only 24 hours (it's not vitamin E). Where to buy it.
- Simple, enjoyable steps you can take to strengthen your heart and lessen the risk of heart attack, including 7 common, delicious foods that build your heart's strength naturally.

This exclusive interview with heart researcher Carey Reams is yours as a BONUS with a 6-month Introductory Subscription to *Healthview. Healthview,* a monthly newsletter, is designed for people seeking intelligent guidance on how to get better results from a nutritional program or how to get relief from a specific ailment. So it concentrates on specific nutritional advice that you can put to use immediately–advice about how to *improve your metabolism,* how you can *gain more energy,* and how you can *lose weight naturally.*

It tells you what you should do to prevent colds and the flu, how you can gain relief from the pain of arthritis, and how you can retard (and sometimes even reverse) hair loss. It gives you advice for constipation, diarrhea, bowel problems, benign tumors, low blood sugar, skin problems–and much, much more. In sum, Healthview is designed to bring you all the information you need to live longer and better–naturally. Send in the coupon below to get your bonus report and your Introductory Subscription.

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trends

New Time Religion

Two hundred years ago, Revolutionary flags bore a motto whose meaning was disguised by its innocuous words. The message was simple: "An Appeal To Heaven." It meant that when depradations by tyrannical and tax-hungry authorities grew unbearable, citizens had the right to throw off their rulers by any means necessary.

Today, citizens of Hardenburgh, NY, are turning to heaven for relief. More than 270 residents of the Catskill mountain town are now officially recognized as ministers of the Universal Life Church, a California-based body distinguished by its absence of dogma and by what one might euphemistically term an "open door" policy. Result: their land is now exempt from property taxes.

Credit for the wave of religiosity—which has put 70 percent of the town's property out of the hands of the tax collector—belongs to Cardinal George McLain, a plumber by trade. The Cardinal notes with satisfaction that the Hardenburgh group has become "the largest religious community in the world outside the Vatican."

Before becoming a recognized minister, each applicant had to submit proof of association with the Universal Life Church, a listing of his or her congregation, and a directory of church officers. The applications were reviewed by assessor Robert Kerwick, who stood fast in his approval of the requests despite pressure from the state. "The law is quite explicit, and you do not defy the law when you are a local official," he says.

New York State feels less bound by such scruples. Spokesmen for the Board of Equalization and Assessment announced in May that they would review Kerwick's books, and have hinted darkly about legal actions. If a court challenge does come to pass, it may be time for Hardenburgh residents to dissolve their bonds to a state that violates their rights to own property and to worship.

In another encouraging display of New York anti-tax spirit, Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY) has introduced a measure in Congress to overhaul the federal tax system while reducing tax rates. The Republican from Buffalo has cosponsored legislation with Senator James McClure (R-ID) called the Revenue Act of 1977, which would lower individual tax rates by more than a quarter, cut corporate income tax rates, and end double taxation of dividends. The effect of the tax reform, Kemp says, would be to stimulate the private sector so much that overall tax revenues might increase.

Although the measure has virtually no chance of passage, it is forcing Congressmen to line up for or against a permanent tax cut. Incumbents who oppose it may have an interesting time explaining their choice to voters when elections next roll around.

SOURCES:
- "Exemption Makes Town Religious Haven," United Press International, May 8, 1977.
- "Kemp & Company," *National Review*, June 10, 1977, p. 670.

Wildcatters vs. State Mints

As government printing presses drive the economies of the West closer to orgiastic inflation or credit-numbing depression, legal tender laws are coming under attack in surprising places. No less a forum than the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* recently has twice urged a hard look at the laws that give governments a near-monopoly on money and credit.

The first challenge came in the form of a ringing broadside by Friedrich A. Hayek, who shared the Nobel Prize in 1974 for his work in monetary theory. Hayek expressed the view in mid-August that irresponsible monetary authorities have brought the West into an ominous era. Inflation-induced breakdown seems inevitable, he said, unless a "desperate" remedy is applied.

That remedy is to strip governments of their power to outlaw competing currencies. Freed of legal tender laws that force consumers and producers to accept depreciating paper money, banks throughout the world could issue money under the discipline of the market. Private currencies of constant purchasing power, Hayek believes, would overwhelm their weaker competitors, safeguarding individuals from confiscation of assets through inflation.

"We now have no choice but to change our money and currency system, sooner or later," Hayek observed. "I believe we shall yet understand that the one thing the government of a free country must not be allowed to possess exclusively is a printing press for money."

Remarkably, Hayek's proposal received serious treatment in the following week by Lindley H. Clark, Jr., also writing on the editorial page. Clark, an editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, called the proposal "stimulating," praising Hayek for making "people think about things that they often would prefer not to think about." Worries about an unruly shakedown period and difficulties in fine-tuning the supplies of commodity-backed currencies prevented him from endorsing Hayek's plan, but the attention given by the *Journal* to free market money marks a major breakthrough for the idea.

SOURCES:
- "Toward Free Market Money," *Wall Street Journal*, August 19, 1977, p. 12.
- "Speaking of Business," *Wall Street Journal*, August 23, 1977, p. 14.

Toll Mounts for Minimum Wage

The Presidential jaw must have fallen agape when August's unemployment figures appeared. Despite Jimmy Carter's promises to reduce joblessness, unemployment had jumped to 7.1 percent, up .2 from the previous month. Carter immediately summoned his chief economic advisor, Charles L. Schultze, and his Labor Secretary, F. Ray Marshall, for an explanation.

Whether the two paid notice to the minimum wage is an open question. But had they been reading current popular and academic journals, the officials could not have escaped compelling indictments of the minimum wage law. In *Time*, Harvard sociologist David Riesman stated that the law resulted from "an alliance of the better situated labor unions with the liberals against the deprived and the elderly, whom people would otherwise employ for household or for city work that now doesn't get done." Stanford professor Thomas Sowell, a black economist with strong free-enterprise leanings, added: "Talk about people being unemployable is just so much rubbish. Everybody is *un*employable at one wage rate, and everybody is employable at another."

The 14.5 percent August rate in minority joblessness—almost a full percentage point above the July rate—lent immediate weight to the professors' assertions. Even more convincing arguments appeared in the Harvard *Review of Economics & Statistics*. An article written by a Federal Reserve Bank economist, James F. Ragan, explored the impact of minimum wage rate increases over the past eleven years. His conclusion: they have raised the unemployment rate of teenagers by about four percent.

The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Arthur F. Burns, took a similar message to Congress in August. As Con-

gress deliberated on the merits of increasing the minimum wage, Burns pointed out the worsening of unemployment that has accompanied previous boosts. His arguments seemed to carry little weight, despite fears that the current stall in the economy foreshadows another recession. If Congress increases the minimum wage level as expected, President Carter will probably sign—and hold more hurried consultations in the future when unemployment statistics appear.

SOURCES:

- "The Underclass," *Time* Magazine, August 29, 1977, p. 21.
- "A Higher Minimum Wage Hurts Teenagers," *Business Week*, August 22, 1977, p. 14.

Phasing Out Freebies?

Two small, but encouraging, steps to recognize the importance of the "user pays" principle have occurred in recent months. The first will let taxpayers in Southern California partly off the hook for the cost of pollution controls, while the second may lead to changes in the funding system for the nation's highways.

With property taxpayers on the brink of revolt in Los Angeles and neighboring counties, the South Coast Air Quality Management District has roughly halved the amount it will exact from the public in taxes. Beginning next spring, it will instead levy fees directly upon the companies whose manufacturing processes discharge noxious chemicals.

What makes the approach promising —although not perfect from a libertarian standpoint—is its recognition that polluters should be penalized according to the amount of pollutants they emit. Putting a price tag on pollutants will encourage industries to make more economically efficient decisions regarding in-house controls, rather than having to suffer the caprice of local regulation-happy bureaucrats.

Politicians in the area have been quick to detect the potential appeal of the approach, despite opposition from major utilities such as Southern California Edison. "This program will shift the burden of responsibility to those who are responsible for causing the pollution and away from the property taxpayers," observes Los Angeles County Supervisor Ed Edelman.

Ordinary citizens are not likely to be pleased by the findings of an Urban Institute team, which surveyed the costs of the federal highway program over the past 20 years. Examining the expenses incurred by different categories of users, the study group found that the average car driver has been giving a subsidy to truckers and to rural motorists, by paying a disproportionate share of gasoline taxes.

Researchers for the Institute found that urban drivers contributed 20 percent more to the upkeep of the highway system than they occasioned in expenses. Rural drivers, on the other hand, met only about half of their costs. And truckers shared almost none of the $260 *billion* in fixed costs of highway construction and maintenance with drivers of small and medium sized vehicles. Their share of the total was just $26.7 billion, barely covering the special design features and wear-and-tear their trucks caused. In short, comparatively speaking, truckers have enjoyed a virtually free ride.

In some ways, the Urban Institute study was unsatisfactory: it made no attempt to calculate the costs of noise, congestion, pollution, and displacement of homes for highways. Yet pointing out the recipients of massive, hidden subsidies may speed the day when voters insist on an end to such privileges—thereby removing powerful special interest obstacles to privatizing roads.

SOURCES:

- "Smog Board Moves to Make the Polluters Pay," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1977, p. 1.
- "Paying Fair Share for Roads," *Search*, Urban Institute, June, 1977, p. 7.

Basket Cases Reborn

Contrary to popular belief, not all Third World countries are run by maddened left- or right-wing dictators. More than a passing understanding of economics and civil liberties is being demonstrated by a few Third World nations. Some of their leaders seem to have studied free market economics more carefully than many American politicians, if recent events are any guide.

Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, has begun a sensible attempt to attract business. Junius R. Jaywardene, the newly elected prime minister, has announced plans to set up a 200-square-mile zone for free trade. Jaywardene has little opposition to the plan, because his United National party controls 137 of the 168 seats in parliament.

The planned zone is "to be a solution to our economic problems," says Jaywardene, who is known in Sri Lanka as "the high priest of capitalism." Those problems include a high unemployment rate and low foreign exchange reserve. Investors will no doubt welcome the absence of duties and taxes within the free trade zone, as they do in similar zones recently established in Korea and Taiwan. The success of these areas in stimulating the economy of the host countries may herald an Indo-Asiatic renaissance of free trade.

Laissez Faire BOOKS

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

THE NEXT 200 YEARS by Herman Kahn	$3.95
MEDICAL NEMESIS by Ivan Illich	$2.50
LAW, LEGISLATION AND LIBERTY, VOL. 2, by F.A. Hayek	$10.00
PERSONAL DESTINIES: A Philosophy of Ethical Individualism by Norton	$4.95
THE THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS by Adam Smith	$2.95
THE WISDOM OF ADAM SMITH edited by Benajmin Rogge	$1.95
ADAM SMITH by E.G. West	$1.45
THE WEALTH OF NATIONS by Smith	$8.95
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In the African nation of Gambia, similarly enlightened thinking has begun to take hold. A nation of 500,000 people, Gambia has no army, and exports nothing but peanuts. Yet its currency—the dalasis—is stronger than the pound sterling to which it is pegged. In its 12 years of independence, the Gambian government has lasted 11 years and six months longer than the British predicted when they pulled out in 1965. Common sense, thrift, and ingenuity account for much of the nation's success. The government operates on a comparatively small budget of $20 million. Officials live modestly and expensive projects are undertaken with reluctance. While other African nations compete to see who can buy planes and start a national airline first, Gambian Airways owns no planes, but has become the most profitable airline in Africa by acting as a booking agent for other carriers. In contrast, Air Zaire frequently ignores scheduled stops, and Air Burundi loses $24,000 a week running its bi-weekly international flights to Nairobi.

In turbulent Southern Africa, Swaziland is offering a permissive climate for business and pleasure alike. Bounded on the south by South Africa, and on the north by Marxist Mozambique, Swaziland is making a name for itself as "the Switzerland of Africa" because of its refusal to imitate its neighbors' statist habits. The Connecticut-sized country retains neutral and stable relations with both the South African government and the Organization of African Unity.

Over the past ten years Swaziland's economy has grown at a six percent annual rate, one of the highest in Africa. Its foreign currency reserves are estimated at $80 million, and the country has a positive balance of trade. Because Swaziland belongs to the Common Customs Union, investors can do duty-free business with neighboring countries such as South Africa. As Henry Nathan, managing director of the National Industrial Development Corp. explains it, "That's a market of 27 million people, and companies locating here can avoid the political stigma of investing in South Africa, but still have access to the market." These factors, combined with social legislation that permits interracial sexual relations, soft core pornography, and gambling, have produced a benign atmosphere for entrepreneurs.

Despite the strides made by some Third World governments, others remain grossly mismanaged. Idi Amin of Uganda is not the only head of state with a taste for a ludicrous and barbaric style of rule.

Jean-Bedel Bokassa, self-proclaimed president for life of the Central African Republic, has recently surpassed himself by naming himself an emperor, and the republic as his empire. On December 4, 1977 Bokassa and the favorite of his nine wives will be crowned at the Bokassa Sports palace. For those who may wish to attend, the sports palace is located on Bokassa Avenue next door to Bokassa University near the Bokassa statue, in the capital city of Bangui, probably soon to be renamed Bokassa.

Francisco Ngeuma, president for life of Equatorial Guinea, might have taken lessons from Hitler. As president Ngeuma has tried to settle old tribal scores between his tribe, the Fang, and wealthier, better educated Bubis. In the nine years since independence an estimated 50,000 people have been killed or disappeared, and another 100,000—one quarter of the population—have escaped. Emergency powers taken by Ngeuma have enabled him to ban fishing from boats to prevent more escapes; require all unemployed persons over the age of 15 to work in the cocoa plantations or phosphate mines, as a method of preventing vandalism; and cancel passports (and thus the nationality) of all Equatorial Guineans abroad. Ngeuma has gone so far as to celebrate the "National Miracle" (his naming himself president for life) by ordering his praises included in the Catholic Mass. One can only wonder where those Masses were held, since Ngeuma previously confiscated all of the churches for storage of coffee and cocoa.—*Naomi Geschwind*

SOURCES:
- "Sri Lanka Victor Set to Tackle Economy," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1977, p. 1.
- "Gambia Survives by Its Wits and Lives Within Its Means," *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1977, p. 1.
- "Africa Airlines—Flights Into Fancy," *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 1977, p. 1.
- "Thriving Swaziland Does Tightrope Act As Industry Cheers," *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 1977, p. 1.
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- "Equatorial Guinea Today Like a Chamber of Horrors," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1977, p. 1.

Sitting Bull's Revenge

Back in America, our own Third Worlders have been scoring a victory or two on tribal reservations. A Congressional commission has recommended that Indian tribes be given functional sovereignty over their land, possibly opening the way for a host of tax-free commercial enterprises to flourish in the United States.

Life on Indian reservations, now led in frequent squalor under the eye of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, could change markedly if the recommendations of the commission are approved. The study group, composed of five Indians and six Congressmen, concludes: "The federal policy must accept the position that the supervisory authority it asserts must be limited and flexible."

Blasting the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a "notable absence of managerial and organizational capacity," and implicitly criticizing the existing local and state government control over Indian education, the report issued by the commission urges that tribes be given all the powers of local governments. These include the power to adjudicate civil and criminal matters and set groundrules for the local economy.

Should the reservations receive semi-autonomous status, they could become highly attractive for investments. All Indian reservations are exempt from federal taxes, and many are exempt from state levies as well. If tribal authorities chose to impose little or no taxation at the local level, the result could be tax-free havens for commercial enterprise. An inkling of the potentially enormous consequences of such tax-free zones can be found in the state of Washington. In the middle of downtown Tacoma, on a piece of property belonging to the Puyallup reservation, is a store that sells tobacco to all customers—without the prevailing state tax of about 20 percent. Officials say that sales of tobacco by the tax-free Indian shop, and others like it, cost the state $12 million in revenues a year.

Although tobacco sales are under legal challenge by the state, adoption of the proposals of the Congressional commission could help assure new freedoms for descendants of the original Americans, at a time when descendants of the colonizers are losing theirs.

SOURCES:
- "Report to Congress Backs Sovereignty of Indian Tribes," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1977, p. 1.
- "Courts Will Provide Peace Pipe in Battle Over Indian Cigarets," *Wall Street Journal*, May 24, 1977, p. 1.

Milestones

• *Zoning rejected.* In Benton County, Iowa, voters were given a chance to decide whether or not a county zoning ordinance would be adopted. After extensive public discussion, the results of the vote were 2137 against and only 789 for the measure—a 73 percent rejection rate. No wonder few referendums on zoning are held! (Source: *Private Property - Free Enterprise*, Ogle County Taxpayers Association, Jan. 1977.) ◻

This column reports trends in the advancement of liberty and economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest to Trends Editor, REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

OVERVIEW

of a special issue

In this fifth annual book review issue of REASON, we have brought together a variety of books and reviewers. Again, not all the books reviewed are "libertarian," nor even of direct interest to libertarians. For one thing, the sad fact is that the *zeitgeist* is not liberty-loving, so not many liberty-oriented books are published. For another, part of REASON's purpose is to train a certain point of view on events and ideas as they are in the world.

One aspect of our world is the enormous influence of intellectual trends on political developments. Who is it, for example, that testifies before congressional committees? Not your average citizen—not usually. University departments and think tanks across the country are tapped for expert testimony. Business leaders and experts from industry are called in too; but, things being as they are, they are usually placed on the defensive. Even more importantly, it is not one of their tools of trade to be intellectual about things, to articulate the political principles of the system in which they are functioning or to debate the wisdom of modifying that system. So the intellectuals, rather than businessmen, come off sharp and pretty when political decisionmakers cast about for ideas to support the programs they plan. Those who wish to counter prevailing political winds therefore need to at least be aware of what's going on in intellectual forums—of which book publishing is one.

So we bring to your attention such books as Barry Commoner's *The Poverty of Power*, Naderite Phillip Boffey's *The Brain Bank of America*, Ivan Illich's *Medical Nemesis*, and Michael Harrington's *The Twilight of Capitalism*. For each of these books—some to a greater extent than others—the popular media bordered on servility in its adulation. Yet if there is one recurrent, although not surprising, theme of the books, it is that a system of individual liberty does not, in crucial respects, *work*—that, for some good or another, citizens must give up yet another area of liberty in decision making. And it's not as though the writers of these books muster up challenging defenses for this liberty-grabbing. Our reviewers of these books can show you where the arguments in them are just not up to snuff. Having made ourselves aware of both the powerlessness of the arguments and the powerful appeal of these books, we know what we are up against in our multifaceted attempts to defend liberty.

We also, of course, review books of more direct interest to libertarians. Some readers, because of their fascination with the shape of the future, will want to turn first to Jerry Tuccille's review of Herman Kahn's future figurings and of a related book of essays. Others, long-time or new-found followers of Nobel Laureate F.A. Hayek's thought, will be pleased to work through some of the insights and shortcomings of volume two of his *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* series. Fans of Thomas Szasz or those seeking an introduction to the prolific work of this anti-mental illness, anti-suicide laws, anti-drug laws crusader, will find food for thought in Antony Flew's discussion of four new books by Szasz. And anyone with a bone of curiosity will want to check out the review of David Norton's *Personal Destinies*. Whether or not this turns out to be an important book in terms of intellectual influence—as it may—it is a very important book for all those concerned with defending individual liberty as right and good for people. Although Norton doesn't discuss many explicitly political issues, he sets out to build anew, from firm foundations, the case for ethical individualism. The importance of this ethical groundwork cannot be overemphasized. For if there is no *virtue* in individuals' pursuing their own lives, how can it be *politically right* to let them do so? Incidentally, an ethical grounding is precisely what Robert Nozick, in his *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, says he does not provide therein but admits to be absolutely necessary to his libertarian thesis.

Finally, in this issue's Book Hints, we survey the publishing efforts of some institutions that are not in the intellectual mainstream and, more than less, are a potential force for freedom. And, following up last July's fascinating (if I must say so myself!) "interview" with Adam Smith, we pay tribute to this great 18th-century figure with a review of recent republishings of his works and works about him.

Appropriate to REASON's thrust and to a book issue, we celebrate, with a short piece by senior editor Tibor Machan, the publication 20 years ago of Ayn Rand's famous, often-maligned but widely read, monumental work, *Atlas Shrugged*.

Marty Zupan

THE Poverty OF Psuedo-Science

Running Amok with the Second Law of Thermodynamics

The Poverty of Power
By Barry Commoner
New York: Knopf. 1976. 314 pp. $10

Reviewed by Petr Beckmann

Thermodynamics is the science of energy conversion to and from heat, and in *The Poverty of Power* Professor Barry Commoner uses it for a grandiose analysis concluding that America's energy woes are due to the capitalist system, necessitating a socialist revolution.

If one were to judge the book by the many long reviews it has been given, one might conclude that the book is scientifically valuable, even though economically worthless. That would be doing Commoner a grave injustice, however, for the book is scientifically worthless as well.

PHYSICS AND POLITICS

Its importance, apart from the ecstasy with which it has been welcomed by the mass media, lies in the fact that it is a milestone in the evolution of ideological science. Ideologically biased versions of the fuzzier sciences, such as sociology or economics, have been with us for some time; in the life sciences, one-sided or outright faked evidence has been used for the sake of an ideology by the late Lysenko and, more recently, by the sham-environmentalists. But to pervert the laws and quantitative measurements of

the hard sciences into ideological arguments is something last seen in the Hitler-Stalin era.

The Second Law of Thermodynamics (or, rather, its consequences) deals with the special place occupied by heat among the various forms of energy. In any energy conversion from one form to another, *some* energy is irretrievably lost as heat that cannot be converted back again. Commoner's iron logic deducing the desirability of socialism from thermodynamics misinterprets the Second Law, uses it as a universal fetish, categorizes nonthermal forms of energy by mysteriously adjudicated temperatures, invokes false evidence, and uses double standards for various forms of energy. Ergo, the collapse of capitalism is inevitable.

Misinterpreting the Second Law is the least of Commoner's sins. It is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to explain mathematically formulated laws in interesting, readable prose without sacrificing some of their accuracy and perhaps even introducing a minor error for the sake of simplicity. But what is the excuse for repeatedly stating that the thermodynamic efficiency is affected *only* by the difference in the temperatures of the input and output energies of a heat engine? It isn't; it also depends on where that difference lies on the temperature scale. And the point is not minor, for it leads the author into further confusion.

HALF-TRUTHS

Like good astrology, the book is spiced with heavy doses of truth. It is, for example, quite true that it is more efficient to heat a home with a heat pump rather than an oil furnace. But the reason its use is not widespread is not "that we have failed to use thermodynamics to ask the right questions." It is that government price fixing has kept the price of oil so low that consumers have been unwilling to pay the capital cost of a heat pump, even if its operation is cheaper. If this were not so, the entrepreneurs whom Commoner so despises could have made a profit by offering a cheaper way of heating, and consumers would have reached for it with both hands without even knowing what entropy or enthalpy is about.

It is also true that oil used as a fuel for the diesel engine of a heat pump is more efficiently used than when burnt for its heating value. But if one wants to make the Second Law the supreme fetish for energy management, why stop there? There is an

THE POVERTY OF POWER

Energy and the Economic Crisis

BARRY COMMONER

engine superior in thermodynamic efficiency to the diesel engine, and it ought to be known to a biologist: the human body. Untrue to his false ideals, Commoner has overlooked the heat pump driven by a treadmill.

The idea that science and technology are ends in themselves without regard to their social purpose is one that is not held by any reputable scientist or engineer; it is merely an accusation and illusion dear to the heart of every victim of technophobia, a state of mind that Commoner helped to engender with his *Science and Survival* (1966). As any sane engineer knows, a workable design is a compromise that has been reduced from its scientific optimum by social and economic considerations; but this is quite unknown to the social engineers who, like Commoner, pick up a single scientific law to run amok with it— and into the wrong alley at that.

To minimize thermal losses in electrical transmission lines, for example, the conductors should have the smallest possible resistance. Why, then, are the millions of miles of transmission lines not made of solid silver? Perhaps even Commoner knows the answer.

Apart from liberal doses of half-truths, the book is also full of false and nonsensical statements.

It is nonsensical to associate electricity with a high temperature; it can be generated by the cold water of a hydroelectric dam.

Transmission of electric power is inevitably accompanied by heating losses, but neither are the heat engines transporting fuel exempt from the laws of thermodynamics, as Commoner seems to imply. The decision whether to build a power plant at a mine mouth or near the consumer load—that is, whether to transmit electricity or transport coal—is quite often an agonizing one; it is not made on the basis of the Second Law and could go either way if it were.

NUCLEAR EFFICIENCY

A thermodynamically highly efficient way of generating and transporting energy, not yet in use, is to breed nuclear fuel, use its heat to produce hydrogen from water, and then transport liquid hydrogen for thousands of miles (rather than the hundreds of miles for which electricity transmission is relatively efficient). It is a method that would doubtlessly be condemned by Commoner, who leaves no superstition unrepeated in opposing nuclear power. Should this method begin to replace electric transmission in two or three decades, it will be not, because of its thermodynamic efficiency, but because of its economic advantage and necessity.

The trend in energy supply over the last two centuries has not only been one of ever higher amounts but also of ever higher concentration of the conversion units and ever longer transmission lines. The breeder-hydrogen system would be among those to follow this trend, and it will take more than Commoner and similar dreamers to return to feudal conditions, when everybody produced his own energy just as he produced his own shoes.

The statement that nuclear reactors have a particularly low Carnot efficiency is one of many that is false. The average light-water reactor has an efficiency very close to the average coal-fired plant; the most efficient light-water reactors have an efficiency within two percentage points of the most efficient coal-fired plants; and the world record in efficiency for thermal electricity generation is held by the French *Phenix*, a plutonium breeder.

The entrepreneurs whom Commoner so despises could have made a profit by offering a cheaper way of heating.

False is the statement on nuclear reactor accidents: "There is probably only one other existing man-made device which has the physical capability of causing such a disaster (with massive loss of life) in a single event." Quite apart from the difference in probabilities by several orders, the mere consequences of man-made devices can be far more terrible, even in the field of electric power generation. There are several dams in the United Stastes that could not only burst with a far higher probability but could each kill more than 100,000 people at a time.

The double standards used throughout this catechism are humorous. "Unfortunately, the realities of the modern world have encumbered the word ["radiation"] with the misleading idea that radiation is invariably dangerous and destructive. In the technical sense, the term includes not only dangerous X-rays and nuclear radioactivity, but also the warmth of a hot stove," says Commoner in plugging solar power and knocking nuclear, which he always associates with bombs. Let him look at bombs, then: in the two Japanese explosions, only a very small fraction of the victims died of radiation sickness; the vast majority were killed by blast and heat, the latter in precisely the same form as "the warmth radiated by a hot stove" (infrared).

UNABASHED MARXISM

It is an unchallenging task to recount the technical falsehoods with which the book abounds; it is hoped that enough have been mentioned to make it clear that it is scientifically worthless. In the field of ideology and economics, it is better only in the sense that it does not masquerade under false colors. At least the reader is spared the lip service to free enterprise quite often found in this type of book. "Economists and other students of capitalism," writes Commoner, "will recognize that the basic ideas I have discussed in this [final] chapter are among those first put forward by Karl Marx." And contemporary environmentalism seems to have vindicated Marxism: "An explanation of why Marx's prediction [of the collapse of capitalism] failed to materialize—that is, until now—emerges from the improved understanding of economic processes that is one product of the recent concern with the environment." The whole book is, in fact, a clumsy attempt to make science a handmaiden of socialist propaganda; it would be tedious and trivial to show that Commoner's pseudo-economics is no better than his pseudo-science.

If the breeder-hydrogen system replaces electric transmission, it will be because of its economic advantage, not because of its thermodynamic efficiency.

There is only one point that makes this tome interesting, and that is the widespread and obsequious adulation with which it has been welcomed by the major newspapers and periodicals. That it should be extolled by George Wald ("Masterful") and *The Village Voice* ("Should be required reading") merely confirms the book's debility; but the ecstasy was almost universal. "Probably the best book around on the overall shape of our society" (*Christian Science Monitor*); "most important work on energy and economics of the decade (*Library Journal*); "cannot have too many readers" (*Newsweek*); "a closely reasoned, adult primer on energy" (*Time*); "monumentally important" (*Chicago Daily News*); "by far the best treatment of energy" (*Washington Post*); and so forth.

The supposedly capitalist spokesmen were equally exuberant. *Business Week* (5/31/76) printed a one-and-a-half page review under the headline "Tolling the Bell for Capitalism," lauding the book with masochistic fervor. "Police should hand out summonses for infractions of the Second Law at least as frequently as they do for traffic violations," wrote its energy editor; and as if that were not enough to characterize him, the reader is told that he found thermodynamics a fascinating subject in engineering school but never quite understood the Second Law until he read Commoner's book. It remains for *Business Week*'s industrial editor to reveal that he never quite understood the hazards of food toxins until he read Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.

Why is it that those who would have most to lose by Commoner's virulent statism are its most fervent altar boys? Why is the systematic corporation baiting of the TV networks financed by the advertising of the big corporations? Why are large sections of the academic community bent on destroying the system that elevated them to their present influential and unfettered position? Why do the media use the freedom of the press to censor news unfavorable to regimes that have reduced the press to an instrument of oppression? How can large sections of the upper middle class be brainwashed into ignoring safety and environmental protection on the grounds of safety and environmental protection? What are the forces that drive intellectuals, professional men, and business executives to weave the rope that will hang them? Why does Atlas, far from shrugging, beg to be kicked harder?

The only interesting thing about Commoner's book is the widespread and obsequious adulation with which it has been welcomed in the media.

The deeper reasons of the epidemic of self-deception are not easy to fathom. For friends of economic and political liberty, the real challenge lies in fully understanding those reasons; Commoner's thermodynamic abracadabra is merely a symptom of the disease. ◻

A professor at the University of Colorado, Dr. Beckmann is the author of several books—most recently, of The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear. *He is publisher of the lively monthly newsletter* Access to Energy *(Box 2298, Boulder, CO 80306).*

POLITICAL NEMESIS

Illich's analysis of medical overkill is ingenious . . . but wrong.

Medical Nemesis
By Ivan Illich
New York: Random House, Pantheon Books. 1976. 294 pp. $8.95

Reviewed by Howard Maccabee

Medical Nemesis is an all-out attack on the medical establishment—on its methods and its practitioners, on its results and side-effects, and on the basic cultural assumptions on which it rests. Illich's *claim* is that the social benefits of modern medicine are less than its social costs, that it does more harm than good. His *aim* is to demystify the medical profession, to remove its power and autonomy, and to place health care back in the hands of "the people."

Can Illich be correct? Is health care a rip-off? Would people like you be better off without people like me?

WHY PICK ON MEDICINE?

It is tempting to shrug off Illich's arguments as the fulminations of a cleric who is jealous of a more successful profession. (After getting degrees in history, philosophy, and theology, he worked for five years as a parish priest in New York.) Consider that the physician has taken over much of the "business" of religion. He or she presides over the previously sacred acts of birth and death, even over sex and madness. People believe more in his power to heal than in God's. His temples—the hospitals—invoke more respect and mystery than the churches. The fraction of the total income spent on health care approaches a tenth, the portion traditionally tithed to religion. The "magic" of medical technology rivals the miracles of old and seems to be more reproducible.

Sour grapes? No, there is more here than meets the icon. This critique is even more powerful than Illich's previous analyses of education (*Deschooling Society*, 1971) and transportation (*Energy and Equity*, 1974). The theme is the same—that industrialization is counterproductive, that technical progress is an illusion. Illich must be taken seriously because he is a member of the braintrust of the counterculture, which is making a sustained and partially successful attack on the industrial aspects of our society, and because many people of good will and

sound thinking already recognize areas of medical technology where there are often excesses in zeal and in cost. But how much is too much? And who should decide?

Illich must be taken seriously because he is a member of the braintrust of the counterculture.

Let us examine some of Illich's arguments. His book is organized in four Parts: Clinical Iatrogenesis, Social Iatrogenesis, Cultural Iatrogenesis, and The Politics of Health. *Iatrogenic* illness means illness *caused* by the *physician*, for example, the bad effects of having been given too much of a drug, damage done to a patient during surgery, or a contagious disease acquired while in hospital.

EFFECTIVE TREATMENT

By clinical iatrogenesis, Illich means the direct harm done to patients' health by physicians, nurses, pharmacists, etc., in the clinical situation and the indirect harm due to a failure to decrease illness. He starts with a bold claim—that the effectiveness attributed to physicians is an illusion, as evident from disease statistics showing that most of the decline of mortality from contagious diseases (such as tuberculosis, cholera, dysentery, typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping cough, and measles) occurred before the introduction of antibiotics and before widespread immunization. He attributes this to improved housing, decreased virulence of microbes, and higher host-resistance due to better nutrition. Actually, sanitary engineers have probably prevented more illness and saved more lives than all the doctors in history by improving water supplies, drainage, and waste removal. Illich is derelict here in not recognizing the contribution of *technology* to the decline of contagious diseases.

Illich is derelict in not recognizing the contribution of *technology* to the decline of contagious diseases.

He claims, with partial evidence, that "in contrast to environmental improvements and modern nonprofessional health measures, specifically medical treatment of people is *never* significantly related to a decline in the compound disease burden or to a rise in life expectancy." True, education, socioeconomic status, water quality, and even sex are more highly correlated with life expectancy than are medical treatment variables. Even a cure for all cancers or all heart disease would only add a few years to *average* life expectancy; of course, it could add *many* years for each of the individuals afflicted. But Illich is wrong about the "*never*"; for example, prenatal and postnatal care has decreased infant mortality, which in turn increases life expectancy.

Illich jumps from the *justified* assertion that survival rates for the most common types of cancer (lung, breast, colon, and rectum) have not improved much in the last 25 years, to the *unjustified* conclusion that there is little evidence of effective treatment in most cancers other than cervix and skin. He is just wrong about this. This is a common failing (or is it just a rhetorical trick?) of Illich's—to jump from a single finding in a technical article to sweeping generalization, banishing further discussion and leaving the bewildered reader with a footnote to an obscure journal in German, French, or Spanish. One must respect Illich's apparently universal scholarship but, at the same time, suspect his eagerness to oversimplify.

To imply that there are *no* benefits and *no* effectiveness insults the common sense of the very same "people" whose judgment he would trust if medicine were to be taken away from the professional. We *do know* people who went to the hospital with appendicitis, a broken leg, or a breech delivery and came out of the experience with lives and limbs unimpaired.

Nevertheless, Illich has thrown down a potentially useful challenge. There is needed in modern medicine more attention to analysis of *outcomes* instead of processes and more effort at minimizing costs while maintaining important factors of quality in health care.

By social iatrogenesis, Illich means the damage to health caused by social and economic transformations resulting from the way health care is organized. This includes increased stress stemming from medical bureaucracy, disabling dependence due to lowering individuals' tolerance of discomfort, reduction of social tolerance for suffering individuals, interference with the right to self-care, and rendering into gobbledygook the language with which people describe their bodily experiences. The section is subtitled "Medicalization of Life."

Illich goes a step beyond Milton Friedman, who has argued that medical doctors have successfully cornered most of the health-care market through state enforcement of *licensing*. Illich calls medicine a *radical* monopoly, because not only has professional competition been eliminated, but substitution, by way of lay people caring for themselves and one another, has been prevented. For example, most medicinal drugs are available only by prescription; note that this too depends on state enforcement.

Illich believes, bitterly, that many people who are just "sick and tired" of industrial labor are labeled by physicians as ill and thereby removed from "political struggle for a healthier world." Like Dr. Thomas Szasz has done for psychiatry, Illich claims that medicine is *not* a value-free science but in fact is a normative endeavor, a *moral* enterprise. It defines what is normal, proper, and desirable. It stamps some pain as subjective, some impairment as malingering, and some deaths as suicide. It creates sickness by *defining* some body states, even without symptoms, as illness. This is powerful stuff, for in the modern era we allow illness, mental or physical, as an excuse, relieving people of responsibility for their actions. Like Szasz, Illich finds this irksome.

HEALTH AND WEALTH

In "The Medicalization of the Budget," Illich protests rising expenditures on health care and astutely recognizes government medical programs as devices for the transfer of economic power from the tax-paying majority to a minority receiving health care—and to their doctors. In this vein he attacks the national health insurance proposals, predicting that, instead of making us healthier, they will make the health establishment wealthier and the government bureaucracy more powerful.

Although Illich is concerned about the multiplicity of drugs fostered by "the pharmaceutical invasion," he shows that per capita use of medically prescribed drugs is *not* correlated with commercial promotion—as critics of advertising would have it—but with the number of doctors, even in socialist countries. But he blunders in professing admiration for Salvador Allende's action in Chile of "reducing the pharmacopoeia to a few dozen items, more or less the same as those carried by the Chinese barefoot doctor." For it may be true that perhaps four dozen items are optimal for 98 percent of the population, but what do we do for the other 2 percent?

Illich describes as "diagnostic imperialism" the power of medical bureaucrats to certificate people for various purposes. They "subdivide the people into those who may drive a car, those who may stay away from work, those who must be locked up, those who may become soldiers, those who may cross borders,

cook, or practice prostitution, those who may not run for the vice-presidency of the U.S., those who are dead, those who are competent to commit a crime," and those who are *likely* to commit one. This medicalized status can have two effects—exemption from work, prison, military service, etc.; *or* sanctioning others' encroachment on one's freedom, for example, by putting one into an institution.

The effects on the elderly are the most profound, since the 10 percent of the population who are over 65 receive about 30 percent of all medical attention. Old age has been "medicalized." And the aged form a ready-made political interest group. They can be counted on to support any proposal for increased government health-care spending but "will feel painfully deprived at any relative level of tax-supported privilege" because their underlying "disease," aging, is incurable.

Illich rightfully criticizes the practice of bringing terminal patients into the hospital to die and of going too far in behalf of patients whose prognosis is hopeless. But attempts are being made to improve both situations: the first, by preparing the family members to handle a death at home; the second, by use of the "living will," in which a person states his wishes not to have "extreme measures" of mechanical life support, resuscitation, etc. used in a hopeless situation.

CULTURAL IATROGENESIS

In his third section Illich claims that "the medical enterprise saps the will of people to suffer their reality." He states that all traditional cultures equip individuals "with the means for making pain tolerable, sickness or impairment understandable, and the shadow of death meaningful." He seems to resent the fact that "medical civilization is planned and organized to kill pain, to eliminate sickness, and to abolish the need for suffering." What is wrong with this as an ideal?

While there is utility in pain sensation, which apprises us of dangerous external forces and internal body states, there is no *virtue* in bearing pain, per se, as Illich would have us believe. While there is dignity in bearing pain well, there is no nobility in refusing to eliminate the source of pain or in refusing pain-killing medication.

He blunders again when he asserts that "*all* disease is a socially created reality." Certainly it is true that our perceptions of bodily states are filtered through socially and culturally "tinted glasses" and that some psychologic and physiologic states have been *arbitrarily* classed as abnormal. But it is also true that the crushing cardiac pain of angina pectoris, the consequences of dysentery or a skull fracture, and the gnawing bone pain and wasting of metastatic carcinoma are similar across all social and cultural lines.

Disease, in the sense of *dis-ease*, is a reality that does exist in individual people, independent of "social creation."

In a 13-page historical digression entitled "The Devotional Dance of the Dead," Illich recalls the medieval conception of death, describing "a world in which everyone dances through life embracing his own mortality." Recognition of one's own mortality *is* a useful stage in personal growth and emotional maturity; and denial of mortality, as pointed out so well by Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, is a stage that must be "worked through" by a dying person. But Illich's treatment of this subject is a mixture of poetic blather and paeans to superstition. Ingmar Bergman did it much better in "The Seventh Seal."

UNHEALTHY CURES

In his final chapter, "The Politics of Health," Illich provides his summary and recommendations. He places professional health care in the larger framework of industrialized society, where the efficiency of mass production and the division of labor do have some negative side-effects. For example, "people are conditioned to *get* things rather than to *do* them; they are trained to value what can be purchased rather than what they themselves can create." "It becomes increasingly difficult to care for one's own health." As astute as his observations and insights are, he betrays his Luddite prejudices when he refuses to consider the benefits of technology. For example, he forgets his own insight that the Industrial Revolution created jobs for the old, the weak, and the infirm, who had previously been doomed to short lives of beggary or starvation.

Here are some of the "political countermeasures" that Illich *seems* to endorse:

1. Consumer lobbies and consumer control of hospital boards to *force* doctors to improve their wares

2. *Nationalization* of health production to control the "hidden biases of the clinic"

3. Replacing professional licensing with licensing of institutions and capitation payment

4. More *public support* for alpha waves, encounter groups, and chiropractic

5. More resources for the *engineering of populations* and environments, "to stretch the health dollar."

To be frank, it is not clear to the reader exactly how much Illich endorses these proposals. His discussion of them is a recounting of advantages and disadvantages, in a ping-pong style that is difficult to follow. I believe that he finally rejects proposal 5, and he qualifies the others with requirements such as: the total output of health services should be restricted to within "subiatrogenic" limits; and "no professional shall have the power to lavish on anyone of his patients a package of curatives larger than that which any other could claim for his own."

Even with Illich's qualifications, it is difficult to conceive of a program more likely to result in disaster for patients, for expenditures, and for the liberty which Illich claims to espouse. His keen critical sense has not been sufficiently trained on these proposals, which are more akin to madness than to folly. We see how fine is the line between genius and madness. While we must credit Illich for his analytical insight into the indirect social and cultural effects of the medical enterprise, we must be wary of the naivete of his synthetic sense and the danger of his political proposals, especially if they become the slogans of the media, the masses, or the politicians who would use them.

We *do know* people who went to the hospital and came out of the experience with lives and limbs unimpaired.

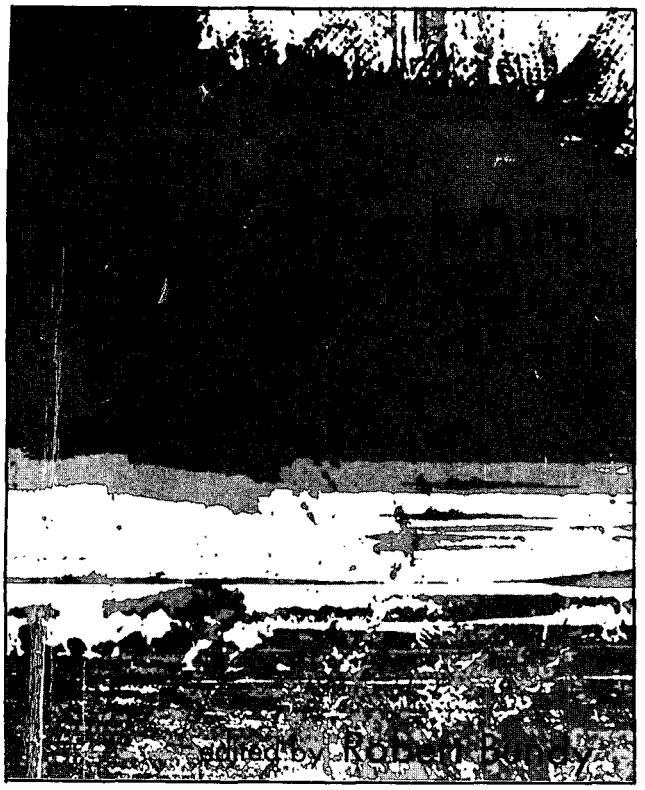
NEMESIS

We sometimes speak of, and use, "heroic measures" in medicine. We employ extraordinary procedures; we keep people alive in intensive care units when multiple organ systems have shut down; we perform open-heart surgery; we sustain comatose people with intravenous feeding and artificial breathing apparatus. Perhaps we are "playing God"—deciding who shall live a few more hours or weeks or years. But we are definitely playing "hero," and Illich would remind us of the myth of Prometheus, who, driven by pride and greed, trespassed the limits of humanity and stole fire from heaven. He thus brought *Nemesis* on himself. Nemesis is the goddess of retribution, a symbol of righteous indignation. So Prometheus was chained to a rock, with an eagle preying all day on his liver; and instead of letting him die, the gods renewed his torture nightly by regrafting his liver. "His unending suffering turned the hero into an immortal reminder of inescapable cosmic retaliation."

Illich believes that "industrial hubris has destroyed the mythical framework of limits to irrational fantasies." "Modern nemesis is the material monster born

Continued on p. 54.

Optimism gives the technocrats no reason to plan for anything,



Images of the Future
Edited by Robert Bundy
Buffalo: Prometheus Books. 1976. 236 pp. $12.95

The Next 200 Years
By Herman Kahn et al.
New York: William Morrow. 1976. 228 pp. $8.95

Reviewed by Jerome Tuccille

Despite anything you may have heard to the contrary, futurology has been in existence since the beginning of mankind. Human beings have always been interested in events before they happen. Consequently, there has always been a fairly good market for those who convince their fellow citizens that they can foretell the future with a reasonable degree of accuracy. For centuries now, intelligent people, apparently sane and in command of their senses, have turned over some of their hard-earned cash to fortune tellers of one kind or another. Astrologers, crystal-ball gazers, card readers, palmists, numerologists, religious fanatics, and mutants within this species have all found a receptive market for their exotic occupations. The law of supply and demand has served us well. If there is a demand for knowledge of events before they actually occur, it is to be expected that crafty entrepreneurs will step forward to fill the demand.

So it is not the business of futurology or futurism or futuristics or whatever else you want to call it that is alarming. Not at all. What is upsetting, however, is the elevation of this occupation to the realm of science within the past 10 or 15 years and the influence this pseudoscience is beginning to have on public-policy decisions. This development is all the more distressing when you consider that the overwhelming majority of those working in the field are calculated or misguided pessimists with a vested interest in sounding the alarums.

PESSIMISM SELLS

Years ago, the doomsday criers did not have quite so much potential political power. For the most part they were religious fanatics who ran from village to village dressed in rags, predicting the end of the world. Pessimism, the more provocative the better, has always been lent an ear.

All this, although annoying, was relatively harmless in its time. But now we have made a science out of the entire business. We have techologized, mathematicized, and computerized the job of predicting the future. We have created models of the future—scenarios—and offered them up for public consumption. Most dangerous development of all, the various scenarios for energy, population, food production, pollution, and so on— embellished as they are with a veneer of alleged scientific fact and computer printouts—have been seized upon by politicians and public planners, and their political and economic decisions are affected accordingly.

Invariably, the more pessimistic the scenario, the more likely it is to attract the attention of the media and, ultimately, the authorities in power. Why is this so? If Herman Kahn presents a scenario indicating that things are not so bad and are likely to improve over the next 20 years, it is not so catchy as Paul Ehrlich crying that we are all going to starve to death within the next 50 years. Putting it more succinctly, optimism gives the technocrats no reason to plan for anything, while pessimism seemingly requires their planning for everything. In return for their help in keeping the governmental bureaucracy intact, in the second half of the twentieth century the purveyors of gloom have been rewarded with unprecedented respectability (and subsidies in some cases).

All of which brings us directly to the subject of the two books under review. The first, *Images of the Future,* is a collection of essays that evolved from a special issue of the *Humanist* magazine. The writers' views range from stark pessimism to a rather bouncy optimism about the future. Some of the contributors are professional futurists in that the major part of their labors are related to projecting scenarios for the future, while others are professionals in a wide variety of fields.

SELF-HELP VS. ELITISM

The book is launched on a moderately optimistic note with an essay by Fred L. Polak, whose opening remarks are general and noncontroversial. He maintains that we are the only beings capable of transforming the concrete, "observable" world we live in into a "not-exiting state of being" conceived in our own imaginations. Since we are rational, volitional creatures, we are able to alter our environment according to our own designs.

DOOMSDAY CRIERS

while pessimism gives them sufficient reason to plan for everything.

This view of man falls into the Aristotelian, classical liberal tradition, which should cause no trouble for libertarians, especially since Polak keeps his comments general; he does not get specific about the kind of society he thinks we ought to evolve toward. And he is moderately optimistic that, in view of man's basic nature, we will survive and create a good, civilized world society.

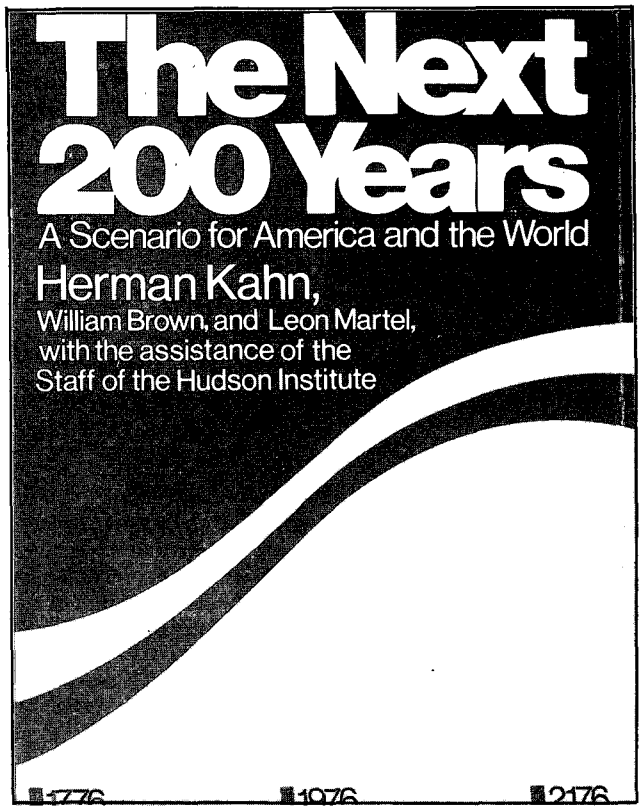
The following piece by Geoffrey Squires is disappointing—and *not* primarily because of Squires' pessimistic outlook. We cannot dismiss a doomsday scenario just for its pessimism. If it is the result of sound, analytical thought, it is worthy of a hearing. But Squires rests his case on a tired, conventional, unimaginative, and unimpressive line of reasoning. His lament is the now familiar one that technology is somehow destructive and has reached its "limits" anyway. His alternative is equally familiar: poetry and spiritual values can save us. He talks about technology as though it were an alien force out there that has destroyed our ability to stay in touch with the poetic and spiritual aspects of our nature. He sees the world in dichotomous terms. There is a great war raging between materialism and spiritualism, and unless we abandon the former for the latter, modern civilization is destined to go to hell on roller skates.

The choice of the editor of this book to have Polak and Squires lead off the discussion is an interesting one. He selected thinkers who represent two classically divergent systems of thought, and their contrasting *weltanschauungen* symbolize the tone for most of the confrontation in this area over the years. At the risk of oversimplifying these views, this is a debate that started with Aristotle and Plato and has yet to be resolved. Is man a rational, integrated creature capable of directing his own life (and future), or is reality irremediably split into two broad categories: *real* reality versus perceived reality; spiritual reality versus material reality; poetry versus technology? Polak, the Aristotelian, believes that man has the capacities—rationality and volition—to survive on his own; Squires, the Platonist, believes that only a *special elite group* can save man from himself—poets, in this case.

Ironically enough, if Squires and his doomsday vision were to prevail, he and his special poets would be relegated to an even lower rung on society's totum pole than they occupy at present. For the experts who would be called in to run things would most assuredly *not* be poets. They would be the same knotty claque of technocrats who have been directing our economy, our wars, and our foreign policy for 50 years and longer. Squires has picked a straw man to flail away at. If he is truly concerned about the future of poetry, he would be well advised to reexamine his concepts. Poetry and technology are not mutually exclusive. They are both positive creations of man and thoroughly compatible.

UTOPIANISM

Those who have not read Jacques Ellul will have a good chance to get acquainted with him in this book. Ellul is never dull. Whether or not one agrees with his ideas, one must acknowledge that he is a stimulating and provocative intellectual gadfly. He starts off by claiming that utopian views



have not done humanity any good; unrealistic, they are "an attempt to avoid reality." Writers and artists, according to Ellul, have made their major contribution in showing us the "kind of future we should avoid." Here he cites Orwell, Huxley, Kafka, More, Campanella, and Fourier. In a somewhat bumptious manner, Ellul states that Jesus was another utopian who failed to present a realistic view of the future, since his thrust was "eschatological"—"the very opposite" of an image of the future. (To be a bit provocative: fans of Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* might ask whether it presents a realistic image of the future or whether it, too, deceives us, avoiding reality with a utopia.)

Ellul goes on to claim that there are three components of a "socially effective" image of the future. The first is "the real experience of a people"—history, which serves as a launching pad for future decisions. Second, we have "the range of the possible." Science tells us what we are capable of doing, while our imaginations enable us to conjure images of "desirable" futures. The range of the possible is imagination tempered by scientific feasibility. Finally, the values dominant in society will strongly determine the quality of the future we choose. If a set of values is not shared by a people collectively, says Ellul, then one group will end up imposing its own values.

But is it realistic to expect fundamental values and their ordering to be shared "collectively" by a large, heterogeneous society of people? This might be possible on a tribal level,

& TECHNOCRATS

where everyone is privvy to the same moral and social pressures (and ostracized for deviation). But in a society as diverse and sprawling as, say, the United States? Hardly likely. The result here, under our present form of government, *is* that powerful lobby groups get all kinds of conditions imposed on the common folk. So it is no surprise that Ellul seems to be advocating a form of spontaneous anarchism close to Bakunin's. He also describes himself as being close, philosophically, to the decentralist, Jeffersonian anarchism of Ivan Illich. He calls this evolving tradition a semicapitalistic, humanistic individualism.

All this is fascinating enough intellectually, but one cannot resist asking Ellul one simple question before moving on: If utopian ideas, according to Ellul, are unproductive because they "avoid reality," hasn't he fallen into the same trap himself by making spontaneous, humanistic anarchism a precondition for a civilized world of the future?

Other contributors to this volume are worth reading for a variety of reasons. Robert Bundy is concerned about keeping the futures movement, as he calls it, from becoming a "subservient arm of government, the military, and Madison Avenue." Wendell Bell talks about "past facts, present options, and future possibilities" and notes that too many futurists act as though they *know* the future. He warns that there is no such thing as "future facts"; we are left only with forecasts. Some contributors, such as Lester R. Brown and Robert T. Francoeur, do little more than intone the standard litany against leisure, technology, population, etc. One thing that strikes the reader more than anything else is that there are nearly as many routes to creating positive images of the future as there are futurists. All in all, this book is a good introduction to the kind of diverse thinking that pervades the futurist movement today.

KAHN ON THE FUTURE

Herman Kahn is one of the most intriguing futurists around, and it pays to read the interview with him in *Images of the Future* before turning to his own book, *The Next 200 Years.* He has achieved considerable notoriety for his outrageous optimism, and his views have never been stated in a more curmudgeonly manner than in this interview. And they are backed up with technical data and computer studies published in *The Next 200 Years.*

Kahn claims that the image of the future projected by the Club of Rome several years ago is "almost unbelievably childish," reflecting "narrow technicism" and an even narrower "class interest." The study "has no virtues. It does not understand the whole system; its assumptions are awful; its technique is bad." The "hysteria" concerning overpopulation, says Kahn, "originates with an attitude held by a certain class of people." A family making $10,000-$20,000 a year in Portugal can afford servants, cars, and houses and enjoys a higher living standard than an American family earning $50,000 a year. "The standard of living in upper class elites all around the world goes down both absolutely and relatively as the world gets richer. And they recognize it." This is why the upper

Societal Directions and Alternatives: A Critical Guide to the Literature

By Michael Marien
Lafayette, New York: Information for Policy Design. 400 pp. $16.50 (paper)

Michael Marien is to be given due credit for making an ambitious effort to prepare overview essays and analysis and brief review summarys of 917 books and articles (the important ones, in his view) for "social scientists, futurists, ecologists, system theorists, planners, journalists, humanists, conservatives, liberals, radicals, optimists and pessimists." As a work explicitly oriented toward reflections on alternate futures and foreseeable options, however, it falls short—principally because Marien is a sociologist with a discernible bias against certain forms of science and technology. Consequently, some of the most important books on the future and on technological forecasts are missing even though they contain vitally important data on societal alternatives for tomorrow's world.

Failure to mention Sir George Thomson's now-classic 1955 forecast, *The Foreseeable Future*, along with predictive books by Asimov and Clarke, is difficult to understand, and Marien's text implies that some included items enjoy general acceptance by the scientific community when, in actual fact, they are exceedingly controversial. For example, considerable space is given to three articles by Princeton's Gerard K. O'Neill in which he proposes to solve population problems by sending 15 billion humans to artificial "space habitats" within the next 102 years! O'Neill is a physicist without space exploration experience, and astronautic experts consider his proposals to be ludicrous, but in this case the text states that "all of this is predicated on existing technology." Yet important predictive space books by von Braun and others are never mentioned.

Marien observes that "there is a remarkably small quantity of literature" concerned with libertarianism and other forms of conservatism that are "directly opposed to the 'leftist' liberal position, which represents a large portion of the literature covered in this guide." Although he does have a brief chapter on "Freedom from Government," its content reveals that he is not aware of some of the more conservative futurists. One can see that an attempt has been made to be fair to F.A. Hayek and other libertarian writers, but Marien's bias against large corporations in general and multinational corporations in particular is evident throughout the book.

"Redistribution is an important aspect of both reforming the economy and reforming the government," he comments, but this comes with recognition of the danger of "diminished individual freedom" posed by such egalitarianism and is tempered by opposition to any excessive degree of bureaucratic centralism. Marien appears to be sympathetic to the decentralist anarchosocialist proposals of E.F. Schumacher and Ralph Nader.

This critical guide does bring to light many "lost" predictive articles and books published between 1864 and 1957—items that will be of interest to the professional student of the future. If the reader is aware of its author's biases and the many important omissions, it can serve as a useful reference souce if used in association with similar predictive literature guides published by the World Future Society.

—Robert W. Prehoda

classes resent the spread of affluence among more and more people and speak about limiting the numbers of the upwardly mobile lower orders. In terms of real numbers, Kahn expects global population to taper off naturally at around 10 or 15 billion before the year 2100. Given what we know already, he says, "it doesn't take very high-quality decision making to make sure that we don't run into pollution deaths of any great magnitude or that we don't have mass starvation on the order of hundreds of millions of people."

On poverty: "There's practically no poverty in the United States." We define *poor* in terms of X amount of dollars per year, but when you mean *poor* the way the rest of the world means *poor*, American poverty is strictly relative, and this condition "will presumably continue throughout history." There are "some very poor people in Appalachia and the South," admits Kahn, but this is still not "absolute poverty" in world terms.

On growth: "You can't totally limit growth and, second,...the pluses for increased growth are probably overwhelming." "If you want to stop the population growth, I believe you have to make the poor countries richer." The best way to do this is to make the rich countries very rich, which pulls up the poor countries."

Isn't the gap between rich and poor increasing? Yes, but this is the "dumbest" lament being made today. If rich people make $2,000 per capita and poor people make $200, the gap is $1,800. If, in a decade, both rich and poor double their real incomes to $4,000 and $400 respectively, the gap is then $3,600. "The poor people of the world are delighted to double their incomes," and they couldn't care less "what per capita earnings in rich countries are." "Their interest is solely in increasing *their* income." True to form, Kahn states that "intellectuals really feel gaps," and they assume that everyone else feels them too. If you tell a chauffeur that Rockefeller lives a lot better than he does, he won't bat an eye. Tell him, however, that another chauffeur makes ten cents an hour more than he does, and he's likely to get ulcers. *That's* the only *gap* he's worried about. Kahn is an ardent defender of the "trickle-down theory" which states that, if you permit the more affluent people and nations to increase their riches, the results will trickle down to the poor. If you penalize the wealthy, you will ultimately hurt the poor.

What about energy? Hasn't growth led directly to an energy shortage? The real problem, says Kahn, is one of "mismanagement." "We took something like natural gas, which is the most convenient fuel you can have, and we priced it at twenty cents a thousand cubic feet.... This is fuel that clearly should be sold at one dollar per thousand cubic feet. So naturally everybody uses gas instead of oil or coal, and you get a complete distortion of the market. This is not the same as a real shortage." As far as future supplies are concerned, if the price is high enough, there'll be no shortage of energy.

What is Kahn's own prediction about the kind of society we are heading toward? He is optimistic about life on a material level, maintaining that more people are getting richer at an accelerated rate and that there will be plenty of resources to go around, but he does have some warnings about the quality of life. He thinks the world will become increasingly middle class by American and European standards, which is fine for the lower and middle-middle classes, but the quality of life of the upper and upper-middle classes will suffer a bit. The world will be a busier and less private place. Those rising out of poverty won't mind that at all, but those who have been accustomed to the exclusivity of wealth are likely to grow resentful about the democratization of affluence.

SOME TROUBLES AHEAD

Does Kahn foresee any major problems

Continued on p. 42

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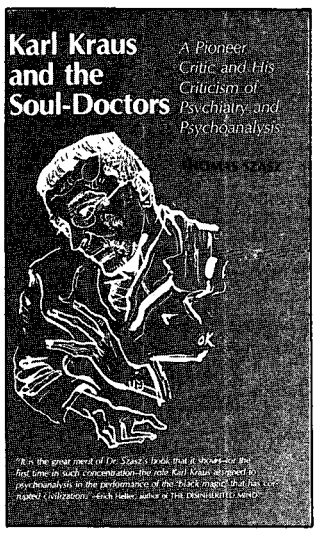
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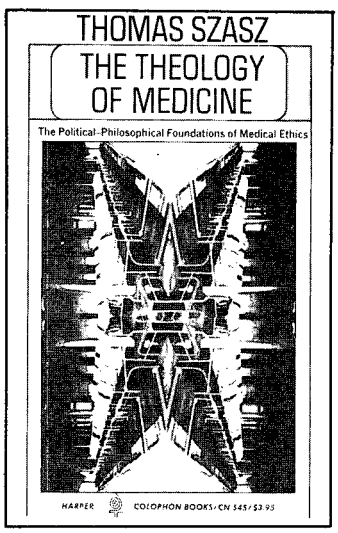
A Pioneer Critic and His Criticism of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis
Thomas Szasz
"It is the great merit of Dr. Szasz's book that it shows for the first time in such concentration the role Karl Kraus assigned to psychoanalysis in the performance of the 'black magic' that has corrupted civilization." —Erich Heller, author of THE DISINHERITED MIND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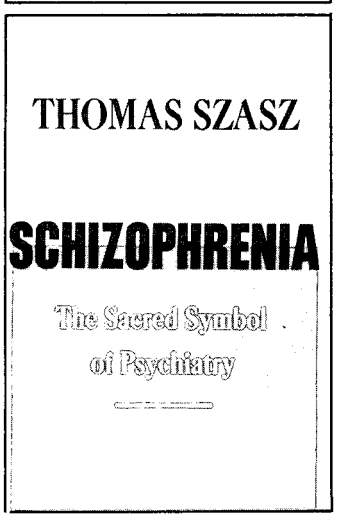


Karl Kraus and the Soul-Doctors
By Thomas Szasz
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1976. 180 pp. $9.95

Schizophrenia: The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry
By Thomas Szasz
New York: Basic Books. 1976. 237 pp. $10

Psychiatric Slavery
By Thomas Szasz
New York: Macmillan, Free Press. 1977. 159 pp. $8.95

The Theology of Medicine
By Thomas Szasz
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press; New York: Harper & Row. 1977. 170 pp. $9.95/$3.95

Reviewed by Antony Flew

Four New Contributions from the Acerbic Dr. Szasz

It is now over 15 years since Dr. Thomas Szasz published *The Myth of Mental Illness* (1961). The campaign he opened with that first splendid barrage had already, by the beginning of 1976, included nine further battling books, among them *Law, Liberty, and Psychiatry* (1963, 1968), *Ideology and Insanity* (1970), *The Manufacture of Madness* (1970), and *The Age of Madness* (1973). Now another four honors have been added to the list: *Karl Kraus and the Soul Doctors, Schizophrenia: The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry, Psychiatric Slavery*, and *The Theology of Medicine.*

I imagine that many REASON readers will have at least one or two of these works on their shelves, will be familiar with the general line, and will welcome the entire campaign as being fundamentally as good as it is important. So my job here and now must be, first, to describe the special contribution made by the four latest and then perhaps to raise some questions.

The first book is historical. The satirist, poet, and polemicist Karl Kraus was a major figure in Vienna from the turn of the century until early 1930's—the place and period in which so many of the influential ideas of our century were forged. As Szasz notes in his preface, "A history of the formative years of psychoanalysis without Kraus—which is how all such histories have so far been written—is like the cultural history of Europe during the French Revolution without Edmund Burke, or the political history of America without the *Antifederalist Papers*...or the contemporary history of Russia without Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn."

The second part of *Karl Kraus and the Soul Doctors* consists of translations of almost everything Kraus had to say about psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Among the many minor memorablia of Szasz's essay in the first part are: that the Cambridge philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein was a faithful subscriber to Kraus' magazine *Die Fackel* and was concerned to discover his opinion of the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, and that Freud in 1933 inscribed a presentation copy of one of his books to Mussolini with the words, "From an old man who greets in the ruler the Hero of Culture." The only reference to that Italian dictator in the Ernest Jones biography of Freud is the report that Mussolini intervened to protect Freud from Nazi persecution after the German occupation of Austria.

Much more important and more relevant than either of these two tidbits is that Kraus seems to have been a consistent libertarian in the tradition of John Stuart Mill, believing in "the greatest amount of freedom for each individual, limited only by consideration for the freedom of others." It was this basic commitment that led Kraus to oppose both "police harrassment of prostitutes and homosexuals" and the "incarceration in a madhouse" of the Hapsburg princess who wanted to divorce her blue-blooded but unwashed husband in order to marry a commoner. The psychiatric agent in this latter affair was, incidentally, a future Nobel prize winner. He was also later to boast of the effectiveness of the "electric shock treatments" employed under his direction against malingerers in World War I.

One very small point: Szasz should not have spoken toward the end of his essay of only "two book-length studies in English on Kraus's life and work," ignoring my former colleague Frank Field's *The Last Days of Mankind: Karl Kraus and his Vienna* (1967)—especially not after describing that book earlier as "one of the few major works in English on Kraus."

PSYCHIATRIC SLAVERY

Psychiatric Slavery is in its own way another fairly particular book. It deals with the Donaldson case. Against all the professional psychiatric interest groups presenting *amicus curiae* briefs to the Supreme Court, Szasz wants to offer his remarks "as an *inimicus curiae* to that august body." Kenneth Donaldson was, on the initiative of his father, incarcerated in the Florida State Hospital at Chattahoochee in January 1957 and released in July 1971. The stated grounds for this incarceration were that he was a paranoid schizophrenic. The criteria for this condition are: that subjects maintain grossly false beliefs and that they insist that they are in fact sane and not mentally ill. Donaldson had been complaining that someone had been putting something in the food he was given in his parents' house. Once in Chattahoochee, he refused both electroshock treatment and other conventional forms of medication on the grounds both that he was a Christian Scientist and that anyway he was not ill. In his years there he made 18 separate approaches to get his release, but always refusing to admit that he had been ill and was now cured. Thus, when his daughter wanted to sign him out in 1966 he insisted that he was "not going to be subjected to indignities ladled out by a bunch of goddamned mammy-jamming honey-dippers." I hope on my next visit to America to discover what these magnificently abusive words mean. I shall then find my own employments for them!

But no sooner had Donaldson gotten

out of Chattahoochee than he reversed his position and began to complain not only that he had been wrongfully committed and detained but also that he had been denied his rights to treatment of his mental illness. This subsequent litigation was apparently financed by the Mental Health Law Project, which is partly sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union. Not surprisingly, the initial first complaint was progressively submerged under the second. The newly discovered constitutional right to treatment which was demanded in this case would be a right that the patient had no right to refuse. It would, therefore, be a right of the State or, more particularly, of State-employed psychiatrists—and hence a right, not of, but against the individual citizen.

In the final two chapters of the book Szasz discusses "right to treatment" versus "right to treat" and develops an analogy between "chattel slavery" and "psychiatric slavery." Not to be missed in the former are two chilling statements quoted from Judge Bazelon, author of the Durham Rule, which allows pleas of irresistible impulse to defeat charges of criminal responsibility. In the first statement, Bazelon by implication rejects every idea of individual responsibility and choice, suggesting that all crime is an expression of mental disease and that all delinquents should be indefinitely detained at the psychiatrists' pleasure. "Human behaviour is caused rather than willed," he says. "What is...required of the expert is a statement in simple terms of why the accused acted as he did." Given this he may—indeed, surely he must—"under the Durham Rule...be seen as a sick person and confined to a hospital for treatment."

Not surprisingly, Bazelon earned a great welcome as a member of an American mental health mission to the USSR. There, he was delighted to report: "Even if a patient opposes hospital commitment, it is deemed voluntary if it is sought by the patient's family, his trades union, business organization, or polyclinic doctor. The Russian attitude seems to be that under these circumstances the patient himself would want hospitalization if he could make a rational decision. As a result, only three or four percent of all commitments are termed involuntary. I must hasten to add that many of our own psychiatrists share the same underlying attitude." No need, Bazelon, no need. We know.

In *Schizophrenia*, Szasz takes up again, with particular reference to the most common of all psychiatric diagnoses, the general thesis first broached in *The Myth of Mental Illness*—a thesis which has played some part, larger or smaller, in every succeeding battle in the continuing campaign. The thesis, expressed in the very title: that really there is no such thing as mental illness, that not just some or most but all people diagnosed as mentally ill are nothing of the sort. If this is true, then the objections to compulsory psychiatric treatment must be stronger and more fundamental than those to compulsory treatment for (at any rate noninfectious and noncontagious) physical diseases or disabilities. If this is true, then whatever proper function the psychiatrists—"the soul doctors"—can still be allowed to have, what they cannot honestly pretend to be is a kind of medical doctors.

Some psychiatrists, and rather more of those parapsychiatrists who practice as psychiatric social workers and the like, hope to minimize the significance of this second and shattering corollary. They suggest, often in an irritatingly knowing tone of voice, that they "do not accept the medical model." This will not do, though. For all the professional activities of psychiatrists and parapsychiatrists, their whole standing in society and their financial rewards, are based upon precisely this "medical model," which cannot be so easily jettisoned. These things are all based, that is to say, upon the assumption that there really are mental diseases, which these people are qualified to treat. Furthermore, both the Durham Rule and similar rules in other legal jurisdictions are accepted both by the generality of lawyers and by the lay public only insofar as it is believed that victims of these putative conditions must be in some way as much incapacitated thereby as sufferers from cholera or yellow fever.

It is at this point that I have to declare an interest. I believe that there can be, and in fact are, conditions sufficiently similar to paradigm cases of physical disease and physical illness to deserve to be described as mental diseases and mental illnesses. So, although these crucial expressions are nowadays continually misemployed to label conditions that are nothing like the physical paradigms, they do nevertheless have a more limited but entirely legitimate application. There is, therefore, a proper and traditionally medical place for psychiatrists. I have argued for this important reservation, in a penal context, in my *Crime or Disease?* (1973). I can and do go along with Szasz only, but fully, insofar as his campaigning is consistent with such modest admissions.

At one point in one of the essays reprinted in *The Theology of Medicine*, Szasz seems to be ready to concede. He proposes to respond to "the most important objections to my contention that mental disorders are not bona fide diseases." The second of these objections is that "the term *mental illness* often designates a phenomenologically identifiable and hence valid category of conduct." Szasz says: "But I do not deny that." How could he? Unfortunately, this formulation of the second objection fails to specify any criteria for mental illness. In particular, it fails to insist that, if the mental conditions are sufficiently to resemble the physical paradigms, then they must be both essentially incapacitating and typically unwelcome to their victims.

Szasz proceeds: "I object to psychiatric diagnostic terms not because they are meaningless, but because they are used to stigmatize, dehumanize, imprison, and torture.... I oppose involuntary psychiatry, but I do not oppose voluntary psychiatry, or psychiatric activities between consenting adults." But what are these adult activities, conducted no doubt in decent seclusion, if they are not treatments of genuine mental illnesses, "on the medical model." Yet, if so, what has become after all these years of the surely overbold original suggestion that mental illness is simply a myth?

The basic contention of *Schizophrenia* is narrower and therefore weaker, yet still very strong. It is that the concept of schizophrenia is a shambles, with no application to any identified disease. This drastic contention seems to me to be, on the evidence deployed here, correct. Szasz, following Sir William Osler, takes syphilis as his paradigm of disease. He then challenges that "version of the history of psychiatry" that holds that, "as some medical investigators discovered and identified diphtheria, so others—in particular, Kraepelin—discovered and identified dementia praecox; as some discovered and identified syphilis, so others—in particular, Bleuler—discovered and identified schizophrenia."

Szasz objects that each of the three conditions included by Kraepelin in the first of these two syndromes "refers to behavior, not disease; to disapproved conduct, not histophathological change [tissue change characteristic of disease]." Bleuler then created the second syndrome by extending the scope of the first and introducing a Greek name to replace the original Latin. Both these innovators believed, and the successors have continued to believe, in the words of *Henderson and Gillespie's Textbook of Psychiatry*, that dementia praecox and schizophrenia are "the outcome of a pathological, anatomical or chemical disturbance of the brain." Noting that this guilty disturbance has not been (though it is always about to be) identified, Szasz comments: "Paresis is a disease for one reason only: because the paretic patient suffers from a demonstrable abnormality of his brain." He also

notes that "in the main, so-called schizophrenics or psychotics do not regard or define themselves as ill and do not seek medical (or, often, any other kind of) help." Significantly, too, it is some form of schizophrenia that KGB psychiatrists diagnose in dissidents, and, where Western psychiatrists seek funds to discover the genetic cause of this ghastly disease, their Soviet colleagues gleefully report "the 65 percent improvement rate" produced by starvation treatment.

In all this Szasz gets warm, yet not quite warm enough. Thus he contrasts behavior with disease. But the symptoms of the most purely physical illness may include, for example, uncontrollable trembling or shaking or the inability to make certain normal movements in any but some abnormal way. The true crux is the antithesis between uncontrollable behavior and controlled conduct. Again, it is only half right to oppose "disapproved conduct" to "histopathological change." Certainly the criteria actually employed by contemporary psychiatrists, and not only by KGB men, seem to refer to disapproved conduct or disfavored convictions rather than to any kind of acquired incapacity. But neither "histopathological change" nor "demonstrable abnormality" in the brain is a necessary or a sufficient condition of either physical or mental illness. People had to be able to identify illness independently before it could become possible for medical researchers to discover that certain illnesses are in fact due to certain internal conditions of the organism. It is therefore entirely conceivable, though not in fact likely, that for some undoubted illness no such hidden condition ever could be found.

Even if we were able to point to genetic or other physiological preconditions of some syndrome currently rated schizophrenic, still, this discovery would have no tendency *by itself* to show that syndrome to be, or be part of, an illness. If schizophrenia is to be established as a kind of illness, then someone has got to specify the incapacities and discomforts to which patients become subject by falling victim to it. And, if the psychiatrists are to make good their prerogative claim to it as mental, then they will have to show that the relevant incapacities are either intellectual or psychologically caused.

The first of these alternatives chimes with the traditional popular conception of madness. The second fits Freud's account of "obsessional neurosis and hysteria,... the two forms of neurotic disease upon the study of which psychoanalysis was first built up, and in the treatment of which also our therapy celebrates its triumphs." Here the symptoms precisely are incapacities: the incapacity to make bodily movements that the healthy person can make or not make at will or the incapacity to stop behaving in ways in which the healthy person does not normally but always could behave. The patient, Freud claims, "simply cannot help himself." The warrant for distinguishing these syndromes as mental is the claim that their constituent incapacities are psychologically caused: "The proposition that symptoms vanish when their unconscious antecedents have been made conscious has been borne out by all subsequent research." (From Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis.*)

It must here be remarked both that Szasz gives little attention in any of his writings to genuine cases of madness and that in *The Myth of Mental Illness* he suggests, even if he never states outright, that the hysterics and obsessional neurotics of Charcot and Freud were all in fact malingerers. These are, of course, both questions of fact, of a kind upon which I have no special qualifications to speak.

Another point to remark is that *Schizophrenia* contains a useful chapter assailing Ronald Laing, David Cooper, and "the so-called anti-psychiatry movement." The central theme of the Szasz polemic is that this fashionable movement, like most contemporary intellectual radicalism, is corrupted through and through by pervasive and total bad faith. This unlovely and too rarely noticed fact is most visible to those of us who had close personal acquaintance with the idealist extreme left of the late thirties and forties. In such circles it was usual to begin by pointing to actual or supposed evils in capitalist societies and then to labor to show that in the USSR, under full socialism, these evils had disappeared or were disappearing. But today radical criminologists, for instance—while insisting that the evils of crime and punishment are due to capitalism and while supporting Leninist revolutionary policies—make almost no attempt to deny, what they know as well as we do, that the first Leninist state has kept more of its people in worse prisons than any other ever; or that their adored 'Fidel', even after forcing a vast emigration, still has, proportionately a far bigger prison population than the worst of the much-denounced military dictatorships further south. Whatever motivates radicals of this all too familiar type, it certainly cannot be the humane concerns that they both so loudly profess themselves and so bitterly excoriate their opponents for not sharing.

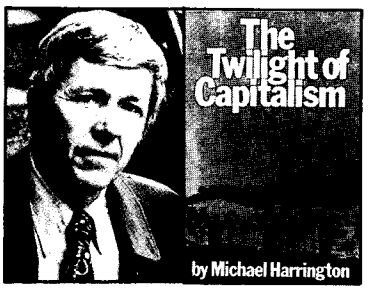
Finally, a few words about *The Theology of Medicine.* These twelve papers include two especially valuable pieces, "The Ethics of Addiction" and "The Ethics of Suicide." The overwhelming impression I take away from the first is how much cheaper than present U.S. drug-abuse policies any of the more libertarian alternatives would be. The second essay examines the ideal, classic case of misrepresenting unconventional choice as a symptom of mental disease. Szasz quotes Ari Kiev, speaking for the Cornell suicide prevention clinic: "We say, look, you have a disease, just like the Hong Kong flu....Most of the patients have never admitted to themselves that they are sick." Well, fancy that! Since they are not, why should they? ◻

Antony Flew is professor of philosophy at the University of Reading. He is widely published in philosophical journals and has written numerous books. His A Rational Animal *will be published by Oxford University Press in 1978.*

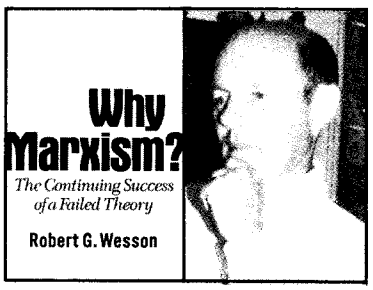
Coming Next Month:

Heard about Nathaniel Branden's new 40-hour Intensives but wondered what they were *really* like? Find out first-hand as REASON reporter Cheri Adrian shares her experiences in REASON's December issue. Also featured is an exclusive interview with libertarian state legislator Woody Jenkins of Louisiana. Can a libertarian hold political office and not violate his principles? Can real-world politics actually accomplish positive change? Listen to Woody Jenkins and decide for yourself. Meanwhile, in wild and wooly Nevada, home of legal gambling and brothels, a veritable revolution is about to break out over the use and control of land. The feds "own" the majority of land in the state, but their claim is of questionable validity—and is increasingly and noisily being questioned. Sue Mollison brings us an on-the-scene report. It's "now" legal to travel to Cuba, says Jimmy Carter. Big deal, reports ex-Maoist Philip Abbott Luce, who travelled there legally 15 years ago and punctures yet another Carter exercise in rhetoric posing as substance. Also included: articles on psychology and political communicating. Plus the debut of Mark Tier, our new Hong Kong-based Money columnist, and a special review of worthwhile children's books.

Marxism Über Alles



Intellectuals like Michael Harrington still cling to Marxism.



Robert Wesson asks why.

The Twilight of Capitalism
By Michael Harrington
New York: Simon & Schuster. 1976. 446 pp. $9.95

Why Marxism?
By Robert G. Wesson
New York: Basic Books. 1976. 281 pp. $12.95

Reviewed by Paul Craig Roberts

These two books, interesting in themselves, take on added interest when read tandem. Wesson's book is about the continuing success of a failed theory, and Harrington's is about the theoretical failure of a successful system. Together they suggest more of interest than will be explored here. For example, while we in the West seem inclined to abandon a successful system for a failed theory, Communist lands are moving away from the unworkable system produced by Marxist theory.

Wesson proceeds from Marx's Marxism to Engel's Marxism to Soviet Marxism to the Third World's Marxism to Western intellectuals' Marxism. He is not so much interested in Marxism itself as in why it has attracted so much attention. His premise is that the answer is not found in analysis of the doctrines, "an endless and baffling task" to which he gives little attention, "but by study of the uses of Marxism for various people, parties, and revolutionary movements, . . . that is, of Marxism as a serious kind of political poetry." His book, then, is a kind of history of Marxism. It contains some that is perceptive and some that is defective. One virtue of the book is that it is free of the romantic mythology that produces the unconscious lie evident in Harrington's dedication:

> To the future of an almost forgotten genius: the foe of every dogma, champion of human freedom and democratic socialist—KARL MARX.

A VEHICLE OF PROTEST

Wesson sees that "at the heart of Marxism has been an abiding theme of protest" against Western civilization and that "Marxism is a satisfying way of rebelling against the leading sector of civilization." As Harrington makes clear, Marxian protest goes to the foundation of the West's success—market exchange and private property. To protest these is to protest individual liberty.

Harrington captures in a single paragraph both the thrust of Marx's critique and its programmatic implications:

> The division of labor in the factory, he wrote in *Das Kapital,* is planned in minute detail, but the division of labor in the society is anarchic. "It is quite characteristic," Marx wrote bitterly, "that the most enthusiastic apologist of the factory system does not know anything more vexatious to say against the general organization of social labor (that is, against socialism) than that it will turn the entire society into a factory." For Marx the ingenious incoherence of contemporary life, its scientifically calculated purposelessness, is a function of the social system rather than of its technology.

This *is* Marx's objection to capitalism. On this fundamental issue of Marxian scholarship, I stand with Harrington as an ally against widespread academic misinterpretation of Marx—although I personally do not share this objection with Marx and Harrington.

The answer that Wesson offers to his interesting question—Why Marxism?—is that Marxist doctrines "fulfill more or less irrational political and psychological needs." This answer is not without interest, but there are hints of a better one dispersed throughout his book. His scattered perceptions seem to organize naturally around three factors that together might explain Marxism's success: (1) it is a vehicle of protest; (2) it justifies power based on violence; and (3) it satisfies, in scientific terms, the romantic appetite whetted by the Enlightenment.

I think the answer to Wesson's question is not to be found in irrational needs or the history of Marxism, but in the history of Western intellectual thought. There is an inconsistency in our intellectual foundations that produced Marxism and its success. This inconsistency precludes a positive attitude toward Western experience, and, as Wesson notes, "Marxism has provided a channel, focus, and rationale for essentially negative approaches."

SELF-CRITICAL MORALITY

The reason a negative approach toward the West has the upper hand is clear once the inconsistency in our intellectual foundation is understood. The inconsistency stems from the secularization of Christian moral fervor, which produced demands for the moral perfection of society, and from the impact of modern science on our concept of knowledge, which produced a critical philosophical positivism that is skeptical of the reality of moral motives.

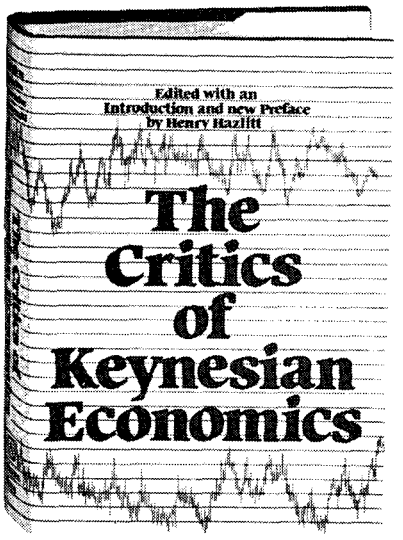
The result of the former is a social and political dynamism that is committed to the moral perfection of human society. But the result of the latter is a skeptical sophistication that tends to see morality in terms of high-sounding rationales for lowly but truer motives. We are all used to moral motives being unmasked as rationalizations for class and individual interests or explained as expressions of social, economic, psychological, or political needs.

This unmasking does not prevent moral expression and demands for progress, but directs them into denunciatory rather than affirmatory channels. A morally affirmatory statement, especially if it is in defense of existing society or its achievements, arouses the suspicion of dishonesty and is subject to being unmasked. It encounters objections both from the advocates of social change, who see it as a defense of the status quo, and from skeptics, who look for the real motive that is operating behind the moral guise.

On the other hand, a morally denunciatory statement, especially if it is an accusation against existing society, is seen as an expression of the indignation of the morally honest reformer. In this way moral motives can be asserted backhandedly in praise of social dissenters more easily than they can be asserted straightforwardly in praise of society's achievements. Skepticism and moral indignation together support the social and political dynamism that is committed to achieving progress by remaking society.

Marxism is the only doctrine that both satisfies the demands for progress and provides a safe outlet for moral expression in a skeptical age. Marxism is a success because it fuses the two inconsistent strains in Western thought—moral skepticism and moral indignation—and makes them complements in the attack against existing society. Together they preempt society's moral defense, while at the same time focusing moral indignation against it. Marxism is successful because, unlike the West, which, as Wesson says, "is self-critical, oftentimes weary of its own achievements," Communist states do

BACK IN PRINT: 22 master economists leave Keynes naked and shivering



For a generation after it appeared in 1936, Lord Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* was Holy Writ for most economists. Yet it evoked major criticisms—many of them, however, buried in learned journals. Henry Hazlitt gathered nearly two dozen of them in 1960 for this important book. Together they comprise the most impressive refutation of Keynes ever assembled in book form.

The contributors read like an honor roll of free-market economists:

Ludwig von Mises	Arthur F. Burns
F. A. Hayek	Wilhelm Roepke
Jacques Rueff	Joseph Stagg Lawrence
L. Albert Hahn	John H. Williams
Jacob Viner	Garet Garrett
Melchior Palyi	Etienne Mantoux
Frank H. Knight	Franco Modigliani
Jean Baptiste Say	Philip Cortney
Benjamin J. Anderson	R. Gordon Wasson
W. H. Hutt	David McCord Wright
John Stuart Mill	Henry Hazlitt

Mill and Say of course antedated Keynes by a century. Mr. Hazlitt includes them because they constitute "a refutation in advance" of the *General Theory*.

Out of print for years, this collection includes a number of important essays otherwise hard or impossible to find in English.

Excerpts from a review by Murray N. Rothbard in *National Review*

Mr. Hazlitt has dug deep to unearth long-forgotten or even unknown criticisms of Keynes, published over the years since the *General Theory* appeared in 1936. As isolated essays or journal articles, they could be, and were, dismissed during the Keynesian hullabaloo. But, put together, they form an impressive and many-sided scholarly criticism of Keynes, on varying levels of political interest and technical difficulty. . . .

Hazlitt also earns our gratitude by including the long out-of-print presentations of Say's Law of Markets by J. B. Say and John Stuart Mill; for these nineteenth-century demonstrations that there can be no such thing as general "overproduction" or "underconsumption" on a free market are as fresh and valid today as they were a century and a half ago. The Sisyphean feat of Hazlitt and the other authors in pulverizing and clearing away the Keynesian rubble opens the way for a return to Say's Law and to those economists, like Ludwig von Mises, who have brilliantly built upon that law as a solid foundation.

While the Keynesian system is a tissue of fallacies, it is a mistake to dismiss it brusquely, as many conservative economists have done, as nonsense. It *is* nonsense, in the last resort; but failure to deal with its fallacies in detail and in depth has left the field of ideas open for Keynesianism to conquer. Now, at long last, we have . . . the ammunition to slay the enemy.

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not rely on a self-critical posture as the means of achieving progress.

VIOLENCE—THE MARXIAN FORCE IN HISTORY

Wesson states that "Marx stood for violence" and that "Stalin was not mad but a quite successful dictator liberated by Marxism-Leninism from moral prejudices." Since many in our universities will find his statements provocative, I would like to explain why he is correct.

According to Marx, morality is only a mask for class interest. Thus, for Marxists, good will cannot be an effective force in history. Since each class acts in its own class interest, there is no humanistic basis upon which to unite classes and cultivate effective reforms. If there are as many specific moralities as there are class interests, what mediates between moralities? Marx answers that the mediator is violence. Lenin explicitly developed this doctrine of violence. According to Lenin, "the scientific concept of dictatorship means neither more nor less than unlimited power, resting directly on force, not limited by anything, not restricted by any laws, nor any absolute rules. Nothing else but that."

Lenin's doctrine of violence was widely acknowledged by the Communist Party. For example, in 1928 Grigori Pyatokov, later a victim of the doctrine, recognized and approved it: "According to Lenin the Communist Party is based on the principle of coercion which doesn't recognize any limitations or inhibitions. And the central idea of this principle of boundless coercion is not coercion by itself but the absence of any limitation whatsoever—moral, political, and even physical." Marx's reasoning, which leaves violence as the mediator between classes, leads logically to violence as the mediator between the Party and the people (Leninism) and even further to violence as the mediator between the Party and its members (Stalinism).

Wesson is at his best when writing about Third World Marxism. One finds here none of the unwarranted respect that is usually heaped lavishly upon brutal States whose single elite consists of those who rule. Wesson states, truthfully, that "radical leaders of the developing world need only cite what they learned in American or British universities." He could have added: French, German, Italian, Canadian, Dutch, Swedish, and so forth. Khieu Samphan, the Cambodian Communist leader, comes immediately to mind. He learned his Marxism at the Sorbonne, where his thesis stressed social purification at any cost. No doubt he made an A. This is what the West's universities turn loose on humanity.

Wesson says that Marxism is "an accessory of the authoritarianism which seems unavoidable in the third world." I think it is more. It is the only rationale for minority rule that is acceptable both to the West and to the Soviet Union. The only minority rule in Africa to which the U.S. government has objected is white minority rule.

If Wesson intends an academic career, I hope he has tenure. Since he is so forthright, he may as well have attributed the success of the Leninist theory of imperialism to the mask it provides indigenous rulers for the ruthless exploitation of their own people.

In a brief passage Wesson makes a point that has been on my own mind ever since I discussed it with Michael Polanyi

The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism

By Daniel Bell
New York: Basic Books. 1975. 301 pp. $12.95

This work brings together numerous articles by Harvard sociologist Daniel Bell, who is a prominent figure within the so-called neoconservative group of American intellectuals. The essays are dense, to say the least, and they convey a breadth of knowledge and familiarity with intellectual history that could scare the most erudite among us.

The essence of Bell's message is that the classical liberal era produced too much confidence in man's inevitable progress and stressed our pleasure-seeking, self-centered inclinations far out of proper proportion. The current faith in Marxism is but a mild extension of this classical liberal, secular faith. (Incidentally, it is not only Marxists, but such liberals as John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, who believe in inevitable progress.) And classical liberalism, Bell complains, like other secular creeds, simply has no room for a consideration of values. The value-free stance is inherent in the liberal approach, be it individualist or collectivist.

Bell illustrates these tendencies in modern society with hundreds of quotations. But he essentially just pleads his case. He never gives the critics the slightest chance; he never considers interpretations of his sources that might lead to conclusions different from his own. Bell does not argue his case but claims that history demonstrates it beyond reasonable doubt.

And what solution does he offer? For, needless to say, Bell regards both classical and modern liberalism quite mistaken. He finds the very idea of a secular analysis of human affairs wholly unsatisfactory, considering the reductionist, hedonist frame of reference destructive to some of the best ideas of liberalism, including political liberty itself.

Bell offers us religion. Joining such notable conservatives as Ernest van den Haag, Walter Berns, William F. Buckley, Jr., and Peter L. Berger, Bell believes that religion needs to be resurrected; then a sense of virtue will develop in our midst and will effectively counter the reductionist tendencies and give us a chance for spiritual recovery.

Pace Bell and his cohorts, however, religion does not have a chance. Nor does it any longer differentiate them from the Marxists. Religion is at heart a view of the world that takes reality to be fundamentally mysterious, inaccessible to human understanding—now or ever. But with people no longer in slavery to a ruling elite, or at least no longer accepting this as the norm, they want answers, not fairy tales. And with the Marxists changing their historical materialist pseudoscience into just another utopian faith, Bell & co. will simply echo the collectivists, who are already taking us to hell in a handbasket, with or without theology.

It never occurs to Bell and his colleagues that the secular framework need not be wedded to materialism, reductionism, or the value-free approach. Granted, many secular systems are, but that is not decisive. The needed spiritual recovery is available from a careful investigation of nature and human nature.

—Tibor R. Machan

years ago. People today think of Nazism and Communism as opposites, and it may startle them to learn that that is not how these doctrines were perceived by people at that time. Wesson is correct when he says that "Nazism appealed to many of the same declasses as Communism, and in the years of its rise it was easy to pass from one to the other." This, I believe, underlines my point that the success of Marxism is explained in terms outside itself. Doctrines of violence have been successful in the 20th century because they provide the ideal outlet for secularized moral fervor in a skeptical age.

UNDERSTANDING MARX

Michael Harrington illustrates many of Wesson's points, such as, "Rights in Marxism are for abstract classes, not real people." And, although suitably muted to be acceptable to chic liberals, Harrington stands in Marx's tradition of "violent and self-righteous polemics, the purpose of which was not to illustrate an issue but to destroy an adversary."

Why shouldn't libertarians learn from Harrington's rhetoric and from Wesson's observation that "any group which perceives its welfare or self-respect abused or threatened can express discontent in Marxist terms"? Libertarians have much to gain from a "Marxist" theory of the exploitation of the productive by the State, just as the political imagination of the Republic of South Africa should be schooled by the People's Republic of the Congo, which, as Wesson notes, "uses a full set of symbols of socialist revolution, including a flag patterned after the Soviet model, but depends economically on French assistance."

Harrington's book is, in places, a more serious work than I expected it to be. He seems to understand better than most academics Marx's concept of a commodity and its pivotal role in Marx's analysis of capitalism. He agrees with Wesson that Marxism lends itself to the purposes of new elites, although he is quick to relieve Marx of any responsibility for Marxism's being "a perfect ideology for dynamic bureaucracies that are going to save the workers from themselves." He excuses Marx by claiming that "these elites were not, to be sure, the products of Marx's thought, or even of his erroneous version of it."

Harrington's book needed a severe and good editor to impose some discipline on a mind that is prone to contradiction and untenable positions. How, for example, if Marx misstated Marxism, as Harrington claims, can Harrington claim to have discovered the authentic Marx, as he does? At best, he can only claim an authentic Harringtonism. There are two interesting questions here. How can Marx, if he did not understand his own work and his own method, have any authority to convey? And why does Harrington so desparately want this authority? "I hope to introduce a living presence into the late-twentieth—and even the twenty-first—century," writes Harrington. "Let me call him 'the new Karl Marx.'" But the question is unavoidable to the reader: Why not call him Michael Harrington? Perhaps what is operating here is the old psychological ploy of giving the primitive instincts of hatred and aggression a sophisticated, independent, and moral form. Gods and bibles have often been used as a rationale for shedding blood.

CAPITALISM'S DEMISE

Harrington's book is a curious mixture of orthodox Marxism, revisionist Marxism, Harringtonism, and personal opinion (some perceptive, some silly) about policy debates and political events of the past ten years. He is particularly exercised by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The book also offers a commentary on more Marxist writers than the reader will have heard about.

Harrington's thesis is that "capitalism has collectivized its contradictions but not abolished them." He sees the welfare state as "the temporary salvation of the system, but also the portent of its end." Capitalism will self-destruct, he says, because it is opposed to the redistribution of wealth. "The successor to capitalism will be collectivist, of course. That has already been settled." He is happy that we will be collectivized, even though he only gives us one chance in three of a humane collectivity. The other possibilities are the totalitarian and the authoritarian.

The main concern for Harrington is that capitalism is finished, sooner or later. It is a subsidiary question whether we all end up in the Gulag. He is so outraged about capitalism that he criticizes it from contradictory standpoints. It is not possible to be a Keynesian and a Marxist at the same time, but Harrington is—because he can attack existing society from the standpoint of both. After insisting that economic crisis is the *inevitable* result of capitalism, he then condemns the recent depression as "cruel and *unnecessary.*" Economists will join logicians in tearing out their hair. He suggests that on net balance we subsidize the commercially inefficient, not realizing that this is impossible in real terms. But his economics is no worse than the remarkably stupid congressional study, which he cites, that concluded that to give away real income abroad is good business because it helps hold up the level of

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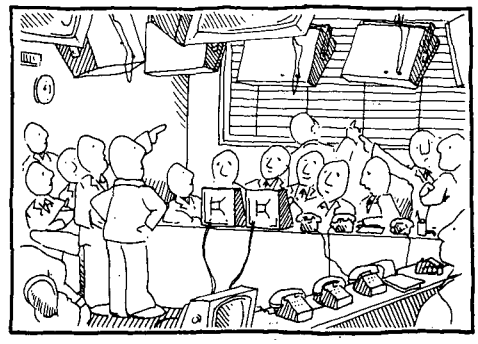

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Harrington, like Marx and American liberals, stands in the Enlightenment tradition that things will get better as existing society is consciously overturned (either at once through revolution or gradually through reform). The act of faith does not explain why things will not get worse. Why, then, do they choose to believe that things will get better as a result of overturning existing society? My answer is that if one believes that change does not mean progress, one does not have a moral guise for the hatred and aggression that have been channeled against existing society that results from a secularized morality. When morality was secularized, moral fervor was rechanneled from seeking individual salvation to seeking the moral perfection of society. Thus, aggression flows naturally against all existing (imperfect) social arrangements. Harrington, like Marx himself, is merely a slave of the Enlightenment. His class consciousness is that of a *philosophe*, a descendant of Rousseau, the product of no mode of production. In Michael Polanyi's words, "Here is moral fury attacking all that is of good repute: all accepted manners, custom, and law."

In an atavistic act of good will, a 20th-century act of folly, I say in Harrington's defense that relatively few intelligent and sensitive minds have escaped falling into this syndrome. And many of the few who fight the battle for liberty today are people who have pulled themselves out of this syndrome. Perhaps Harrington also will one day abandon the fight *against* and join the fight *for* liberty.

DEFENDING LIBERTY

In the meantime, libertarians could become more serious. Many regard liberty a natural state. It is not. Liberty is an *achievement*, fought for by those who believed in it. If libertarians are not prepared to kill and die in defense of liberty, they should be prepared to lose it. That is the clearest message that Harrington's book conveys to libertarians. That Marxists will kill and die to take away liberty is the clearest message of Wesson's book.

There is an inconsistency in our intellectual foundations that produced Marxism and its success.

In thinking over these books, I am left with the provocative thought that the net social product of a class of intellectuals is negative. The general welfare would increase if this class were paid not to write and speak. The products of intellectuals are social problems, which they discover and market to earn their living. Without this class to stir up discontent, envy, and hatred, people might go about their business of cultivating their own gardens, of earning their incomes, tending to their families, and being civil to one another. Government would certainly be smaller. Wesson would probably agree with this thought. It would go against Harrington's grain, but if not even Marx understood Marxism, what defense of intellectuals can Harrington offer?

Intellectuals generate enormous social costs by socializing personal problems. Just as in the case of pollution, some way must be found to internalize these costs. Perhaps the only way is to open legal recourse to the victims. The intellectuals and their coterie of regulators, IRS agents, liberal judges, parole boards, and bleeding hearts are the true criminals of our time. In self defense, peaceful individuals must find some way of protecting themselves against them. ◻

Dr. Roberts is the author of Marx's Theory of Exchange, Alienation, and Crisis *and* Alienation and the Soviet Economy.

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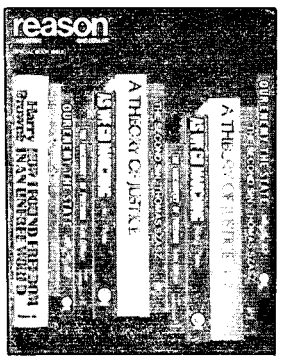

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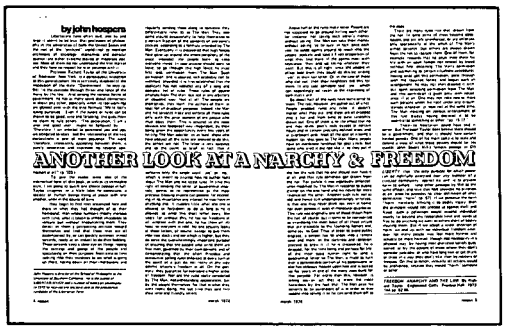

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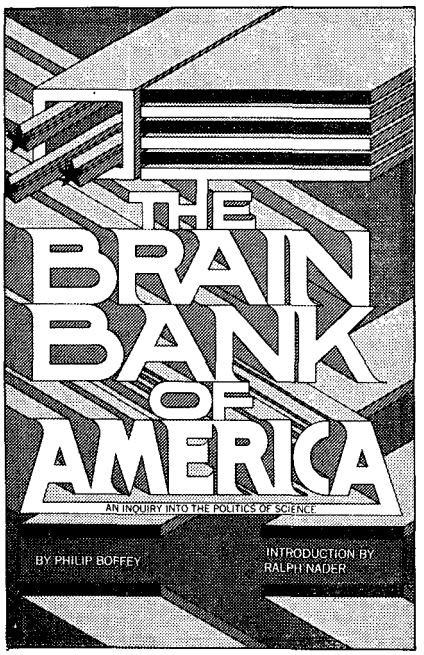
RAIDING The Academy

The Brain Bank of America
By Phillip M. Boffey. With an introduction by Ralph Nader
New York: McGraw-Hill. 1975. 312 pp. $10.95

Reviewed by Adam V. Reed



Tenuous arguments and sensationalism mark this "study" of the National Academy of Sciences.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a group of American scientists organized a National Academy to provide the federal government with reliable scientific advice. Most of the government's operating agencies have created their own in-house scientific research establishments since that time, but the National Academy of Sciences remains the preeminent source of authoritative scientific opinion for Congress, the courts, and federal regulatory agencies.

When scientific issues arise in regulatory controversies, the courts and regulatory boards tend to accept the reports of the Academy as definitive. There is no statutory obligation for them to do so, as the Academy is a private organization, albeit one with a federal charter, like the Boy Scouts and the Red Cross. The Academy's opinions are nevertheless seldom questioned, largely because of the enormous prestige of its members: election to the Academy is the ultimate accolade American scientists can bestow on their colleagues.

The reports of experts selected by that pantheon are seldom challenged, and even more seldom challenged successfully. Even its critics refer to the National Academy as "the Supreme Court of science." And while scientific knowledge changes much faster than legal precedent, instances of an Academy report proving to be in error and having to be reversed are as rare as, if not rarer than, reversed opinions from the Supreme Court.

When regulatory bureaucrats invoke specious "scientific" arguments to expand their power, it often falls to the National Academy of Sciences to point out that the alleged rationale for more stringent regulation is so much bunk. With the rise of the Nader organization as America's leading advocate of "more and better" regulation, it was only a matter of time before the Academy was Raided. An additional motive was provided by Nader's personal outlook on applicable science. In the introduction to *The Brain Bank of America*, Nader writes, quite seriously, that "more often than not, inventions work against the consumer." There is probably no way to disabuse Nader of that notion short of making him ride from Los Angeles to Washington on horseback.

Given the views of his leader, Boffey's direction is also predictable. The only surprise, considering the amount of dirt the Raiders usually manage to dig up, is how little evidence Boffey found for his arguments. There is, in this book, not one single instance of an Academy report being wrong in its facts. The most Boffey can find to object to is the makeup and financing of Academy committees.

The scientists who serve on Academy committees work without pay. The reasons why they are willing to do so vary; they include such factors as the prestige of Academy-recognized expert status; a chance—for nonmembers—to get to know members of the Academy and to lobby for membership; a chance to promote one's own views to other experts; and, however unpopular such motivation might be these days, a genuine desire to do one's share for the public good. Nevertheless, NAS committees have expenses: staff and secretarial salaries, plane tickets, postage costs, and printing charges add up, and somebody has to pay them.

FACT-FINDING, NOT FACTS, FOR SALE

Current NAS studies are paid for by interested government agencies, industrial associations, foundations, and the like. The idea is that anyone who wants an Academy report on record has to pay the costs. Boffey argues that this system puts the National Academy in a mercenary relationship with those who pay for its studies. The argument is that if the Academy committees did not favor the interests of the funding parties, no one would be willing to pay for them. Boffey's evidence consists of cases in which the interests of those who funded the studies were served by the resulting reports.

Can one conclude, from the fact that the results of Academy studies tend to favor the interests of those who paid for them, that these reports were not the best

possible summaries of known scientific fact? Hardly. There is at least one alternative explanation: an industry association may pay for a study because it was advised, by its own scientists and by qualified consultants, that the scientific facts are in its favor, and the Academy can be expected to say so. Every free-market provider of expertise, from the National Academy of Sciences to a private consultant testifying in a court or arbitration case, knows that his value depends on his reputation. And this reputation is lost, forever, if even one instance of fudging data in a client's favor can be discovered by experts working for the other side. An expert is paid for being honest as well as knowledgeable. On a free market, in order to make money by selling one's opinion, one must make sure that this opinion is not for sale.

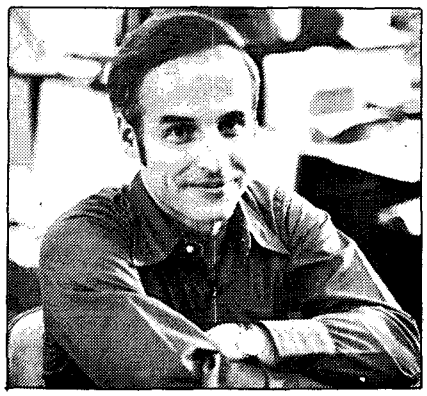
If Boffey's perception of the "problem" of funding for Academy studies reveals, at best, an ignorance of basic economics, his "solution" can only be described as naive —and even that takes a lot of charity. He recommends that NAS studies be funded by congressional appropriations. "Although individual Congressional committees often have strong biases on an issue, Congress as a whole includes so many conflicting viewpoints that it is not apt to pressure the Academy to reach a particular verdict." Taken to its conclusion, Boffey's statement implies that no piece of legislation passed by Congress as a whole is likely to promote any particular special interest! The frightening thing is that Boffey may well believe exactly that.

SENSATIONALISM

The makeup of the Academy's committees is Boffey's other target, and it is here that his Nader's Raider arsenal of private-detective techniques is brought to bear. In case after case, Boffey manages to create the impression that NAS panel members were associated with the companies the safety of whose products was at issue. When you cut through the sensationalism of the revelations, though, it is the tenuousness of these "associations" that seem amazing.

Example: One of the members of the NAS panel on the drug MSG was a co-founder of a commercial laboratory. Three years before the MSG study, that laboratory had been hired by an MSG producer to study the effects of MSG on reproduction in rats. Another member of that seven-person panel once carried out a study of the use of cow's milk for infant formulas. The study had nothing to do with MSG, but it was sponsored by a baby-food company that, like all baby-food companies at the time, was using MSG. Another two members of the panel were employed by Dow and DuPont, and while these companies never made MSG, Boffey writes that their employees "might be suspected of having an industrial viewpoint on the general question of chemical additives." (Note the language: MSG is given the sinister-sounding label of "chemical additive," conveniently ignoring the fact that we human beings are also made up of chemicals and that glutamates occur naturally in almost all foods derived from plants or animals.) With a majority like this, it's no surprise the panel failed to recommend the banning of this evil chemical, is it now?

In other cases, Boffey objects to panel members who had served as consultants for companies interested in the outcome of NAS studies or, when this is not enough, notes that some had worked in industry before getting their current college jobs. In his critique of the pesticide panel, Boffey notes that one of the members had received grant support from the Agriculture Department, while five others had (unspecified) "backgrounds in agricultural production."



Phillip M. Boffey

Such data is missing from the description of some NAS panels criticized by Boffey, possibly because the evidence would not have served Boffey's argument in those cases.

Boffey's unstated assumption is that if a scientist's work is ever of sufficiently worldly importance to earn her or him industrial support or consulting assignments, then the scientist is henceforth to be considered unworthy and tainted by mammon. My own impression is different. If a scientist works in an area of industrial importance, yet never received a consulting commission or industrial support, it's probably because he's an incompetent whose work isn't any good. And vice versa: successful companies don't throw money away supporting incompetents. If NAS panels indeed include a number of successful industrial consultants, then they are probably made up of impressively competent people. Conversely, it's next to impossible to find a group of competent specialists in any applicable field without finding that most of them have had some industrial connections or support.

It might be appropriate, at this point, to give my own interpretation of the data presented by Boffey. I believe that the NAS is aware of the possibility of a proindustry bias in experts who have industry connections, and since one cannot put together a competent panel without them, it has devised an informal but effective procedure for preventing possible bias from affecting its reports. Every panel listed by Boffey includes a member who can be identified as a "watchdog." Suppose, for example, that a panel is assembled to examine the effects of agricultural chemicals on plant life in adjoining wilderness areas. The experts on the panel will tend to be agricultural scientists with industrial connections. The watchdog, then, will be an academic botanist with a known anti-industrial bias. He or she will be drawn from a field distant enough to have no insider preconceptions, yet close enough to understand all the arguments and examine the evidence independently. And the watchdog will be eminent. Where the other members might be industrial employees or assistant professors at state colleges of agriculture, the watchdog will tend to be a full professor at a prestigious university. Where the others might be too young to have been considered for Academy membership, the watchdog will be a member of NAS—and will have unquestioned personal access to the NAS president, whose signature is needed before any Academy report can be released. Being in a minority, the watchdog will not be able to impose his bias on the committee—but will have sufficient influence to make sure that the opposite bias will not color the report either.

Boffey's "solution" to "the problem of industrial bias" is also based on the view that purity from the taint of industrial associations is more important than competence: "Academy committees which include industry scientists should counterbalance them with qualified scientists from citizen, consumer, and public interest groups." The problem, of course, is in the relative qualifications of those scientists. Industry hires scientists to solve real problems and obtain honest opinion: an industrial scientist who tells his company that a dangerous practice is safe will probably find himself without a job once his company gets hit with a damage suit.

With very few exceptions, the scientists who work for "public interest" groups are hired for very different reasons. Their duty is to invent scientifically plausible arguments for predetermined political positions of their groups; they are more likely to be fired for opinions contrary to

their employers' preconceptions than for being wrong. Few of the people willing to work in such environments have any credible scientific qualifications; none can show credentials comparable to those of industry scientists found on NAS committees. The inclusion of "public interest scientists" would destroy the foundations of the Academy's scientific prestige. Perhaps the elimination of NAS as a bulwark against phony, political "science" is precisely what Boffey and Nader have in mind.

VOLUNTARY REGULATION

The inanity of Boffey's critique of the NAS does not mean that the Academy is infallible or that it ought to exempt from criticism. A libertarian reader will find a lot to denounce in the NAS reports summarized by Boffey—although for the most part it will be precisely those aspects of the Academy's judgment of which Boffey approves. Like most contemporary institutions, the National Academy of Sciences tends to assume that regulation necessarily means *government* regulation. Thus, if the scientific rationale for a proposed regulation is valid—as is sometimes the case—the Academy does not hesitate to call for government action without examining voluntary alternatives.

As the readers of REASON may be assumed to know, the free market abounds in economic regulating forces. Few people will knowingly buy products that endanger their lives or patronize a business that endangers their common environment. The real issue is not regulation or nothing but regulation by the market versus regulation by bureaucrats. NAS reports automatically call for government action in cases where any regulation appears to be justified. In an otherwise free society, this would put the NAS among the enemies of freedom. Only in the actual contemporary atmosphere of pervasive government intrusion into every aspect of human life could an organization such as the NAS serve liberty, by knocking out pseudoscientific arguments for government actions that a free society would reject out of hand.

This feature of the Academy's actions is a direct result of its supposedly apolitical commitment to value-free scientific expertise. In the real world, there can be no apolitical institutions; an attempt to escape from political responsibility automatically leads an institution into the defense of whatever political assumptions are taken for granted by society at large. Value-free expertise means, in practice, expertise in the service of the status quo. This fact makes the National Academy of Sciences a conservative institution. Such institutions change as the status quo changes; this guarantees their long-term irrelevance. If the common assumptions of American political life continue to change in a statist direction, the Academy will change along lines suggested by Boffey; if the libertarian movement turns these assumptions around, then the Academy, like all voluntary social institutions, will find itself on the side of freedom. In either case, defending these institutions—or attacking them—will make no difference other than to drain useful effort away from more effective pursuits in the cause of liberty. ◻

Dr. Reed has degrees in electrical engineering and biology and a Ph.D. in mathematical and experimental psychology. He is currently working in the Mathematical Psychology Laboratory of Rockefeller University, conducting research in memory.

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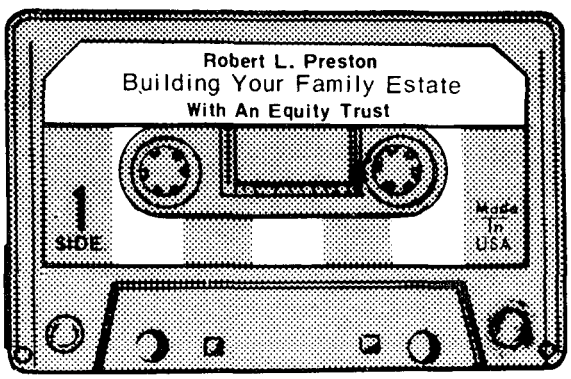

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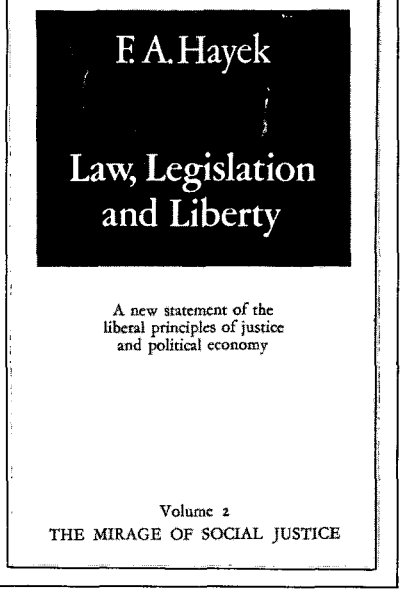
Reviewed by Douglas J. Den Uyl

The MIRAGE of SOCIAL JUSTICE

The long-awaited second volume of F.A. Hayek's *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* was delayed for an interesting reason. Instead of arguing that the notion of "social justice" leads to a number of conceptual problems, Hayek has come to the conclusion that the concept itself is meaningless! As he explains in the preface, Hayek had to delay publication in order to make the necessary changes in the manuscript. The central contention of the book that the concept of "social justice" is meaningless (certainly a very strong thesis) is one of the many surprises the reader may find. Another, also contained in the preface, is Hayek's assertion that he and John Rawl's, famous for his egalitarian *Theory of Justice*, agree on "the essential point." More on this later.

Volume two is a continuation of volume one and thus begins with chapter seven. Although it presupposes some of the previous discussion, a reader who has not read the first volume can get into this one without any problem. In fact, those features of Hayek's theory of law that are needed for his critique of "social justice" are repeated.

Hayek's case against this concept is powerful, but flawed.


F. A. Hayek
Law, Legislation and Liberty
A new statement of the liberal principles of justice and political economy
Volume 2
THE MIRAGE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

THE GREAT SOCIETY

The first chapter (chapter seven) is entitled "General Welfare and Particular Purposes." Here Hayek argues that the prime public concern should be, not to provide for particular needs, but to maintain conditions for a spontaneous order, or *kosmos* (see my review of volume one in REASON, November 1975), where people provide for their own needs. A spontaneous order, one that is not centrally controlled and directed, can function only where the rules of that order are of an abstract nature.

One reason the rules must be abstract—dealing with permissible *kinds* of actions in terms of general principles—is that no one can know all the consequences of the many actions being taken every day. As such, there is no way to control actions centrally for particular concrete ends without disruptive results, since those ends cannot be foreseen with certainty; nor can the means of coordinating the various actions for those particular ends be established without doing violence to the numerous tacit rules and sources of knowledge on which people act.

The Great Society, Hayek's term for a spontaneous market order, is *fundamentally* governed by abstract rules. Thus the government cannot be utilized for particular ends without eroding the very foundations of a free society. As Hayek puts it, "The idea that government can determine the opportunities for all, and especially that it can ensure that they are the same for all, is therefore in conflict with the whole *rationale* of a free society."

Because these abstract rules are not directed at particular ends, they must be enforced come what may (*fiat justitia, pereat mundus*). Even if at a particular moment some may thus be worse off relative to others, a free society cannot be maintained in any other way. A free society necessarily supposes that some will be better off relative to others if for no other reason than that circumstances are always changing. This state of affairs cannot be altered short of a totalitarian society (and even then...).

CULTURAL RELATIVISM

The foregoing represents the central thesis of the first chapter. Coupled with this are numerous side discussions. There is a nice critique of classical utilitarianism. Also, Hayek considers the question of evaluating an existing set of rules. Here he argues that there is no absolute system of morals apart from the system in which one lives. Criticism of certain rules governing society supposes that one holds constant (for the time being, at least) some of the governing social rules, which will thereby serve as the basis for evaluating others.

To show that we cannot criticize from outside our own social context, Hayek offers an example of an old Eskimo who is left behind by his tribe to die; he claims that it would clearly be immoral to interfere. But would it? What if the Eskimo was left behind against his will? Would we be immoral for saving the life of one who did not want to live by the "morals of his people"? Are there *no* moral principles applicable to humans as humans?

Hayek's cultural relativism seems to him to be a weapon in the arsenal of arguments for a free society. Since he is speaking primarily to people in Western democracies, his thought seems to be that they would all admit that freedom is the fundamental value to be held constant. With this admission he will then show that freedom cannot be maintained by current government trends. But since Hayek cannot insist that there is anything conceptually sacred about a traditional moral/political value like freedom (there is no "absolute" moral code), his argument says nothing to those who do not

care much, or primarily, for freedom and want to change society accordingly (not to mention those with different views of the meaning of freedom). Nor is freedom itself defended other than by the view that it is "successful" (a point we shall take up shortly).

JUSTICE

Basically chapter eight seeks to do two things: to show that justice depends upon human action and to offer the criteria for rules of just conduct. With respect to the former, Hayek demonstrates that it is human conduct which is just or unjust and not states of affairs. To say that a given state of affairs is unjust is meangingless unless it can be shown that unjust *conduct* brought that state about. In a spontaneous order where no one person or group wills the present order (as it is a product of a multiplicity of actions), it makes no sense to say that a certain state of affairs is unjust. In such a system the actions of people or of a government can be just or unjust but the "actions" of a society cannot.

But what about the justice of the rules of spontaneous order itself? To be just, they must fulfill three basic conditions: universality, negativity, and indeterminate future applicability. The first condition holds that rules ought to apply to all equally. As indicated earlier, the more diverse interests there are the more abstract and universal the rules need to become. And, because interests are diverse and knowledge of all the consequences of actions is absent, rules will most often be formulated in negative terms, setting down what people ought not to do to one another rather than what they ought to do. Finally, these rules of just conduct must apply to an unknown number of future instances.

Since this chapter is devoid of any concrete example of rules that meet these criteria, one is forced to think up one's own. Surely governmental action directed at aiding a particular industry would violate justice by these standards. But what about: No one may make more than twice as much as any other member of society? This last rule is universal, negative, and applies to an unknown number of future instances. Furthermore, since Hayek is in "essential" agreement with Rawls it would seem that Rawls' difference principle could also be made to qualify as just. Indeed, one of the sad confessions of this book is Hayek's admission that he simply cannot understand why Rawls employs the term "social justice." Rawls employs the term because his theory just *is* a theory of social justice. Hayek focuses merely on Rawls' view that no theory of distribution can be assumed to hold prior to the original position of the contractors. But this ignores what comes out of the original position for Rawls. Hayek's attachment to Rawls and lack of examination of the apparently antimarket aspects of Rawls' theory can only undermine Hayek's case.

FREEDOM ON THE LINE

But returning to Hayek himself, the question is, Do the criteria for just conduct necessarily support freedom? We said above that aid to particular groups would be excluded by his rules, but consider the following: "As it is the essence of justice that the same principles are universally applied, it requires that government assist *particular groups* only in conditions in which it is prepared to act on the same principle in all similar circumstances" (emphasis added). Would the foregoing preclude aid to businesses adversely affected by the weather (for example, farmers and Colorado ski lodges)?

F.A. Hayek

Consider this principle: No one shall have the right to retain all of his earnings as long as there are those who make less than X. Doesn't this constitute a principle of distributive justice? Surely no one attacking the notion of social or distributive justice as *meaningless* would hold such a principle. But here is what Hayek says: "There is no reason why in a free society government should not assure to all protection against severe deprivation in the form of an assured minimum income, or a floor below which nobody need to descend."

In short, the criteria Hayek offers for rules of just conduct do not seem to carry enough moxie to guarantee a free society.

Now Hayek might object that some of the rules we have given above would still not meet a fourth criterion that runs through the book, usually tacitly, "success." Yet we are given no idea of what constitutes social success other than a potentially question-begging one: whatever happens to accord with market principles. There's nothing wrong with an economist, writing as an economist, operating on the assumption that a system that satisfies most people's desires is successful. Hayek is writing as a social and legal theorist, however, and some recognition or discussion of those theories holding differing standards of success should be forthcoming.

One bright spot of this chapter is Hayek's detailed attack on legal positivism, which, he argues, is "simply the ideology of socialism." Also enlightening are his views on H. L. A. Hart, with whom he agrees that there is no necessary connection between morals and laws. But then he goes on to say that legal rules, as opposed to moral rules, are ones where a recognized "procedure of enforcement by an appointed authority ought to apply." I leave it to the reader to puzzle over the meaning of the "ought."

A NEBULOUS CONCEPT

The ninth chapter is exclusively devoted to the question of social, or distributive, justice. Here a number of central points made earlier are repeated with valuable and often brilliant insights. Hayek attacks egalitarianism head on, pointing out that there is no way to maintain universal rules of justice and at the same time have the government manipulate social standing so that all come out equal: "So long as the belief in 'social justice' governs political action, this process must progressively approach nearer and nearer to a totalitarianism system." For social justice presupposes that individuals are ordered what to do as opposed to being allowed to act for their own ends. Moreover, the notion of social justice is so nebulous as to provide almost no help in determining what steps should be taken, even supposing we wanted an egalitarian society. This is one of the reasons Hayek calls social justice a "quasi-religious sentiment."

The key point to keep in mind is that the kind of distributive justice at which socialism aims is incompatible with the rule of law in a free society. In a free society, strangers are accorded the same rights as friends, and many of our actions affect and are affected by people we do not know. The transition from the small group to the Great Society requires a reduction in the number of duties we have towards others: "The great moral adventure on which modern man has embarked when he launched into the Open Society is threatened when he is required to apply to all his fellow men rules which are appropriate only to fellow members of a tribal group."

One of the themes running through the book is that there are two kinds of ethics: tribal ethics and open-society ethics. Although this issue is discussed most fully in the last chapter of the volume, it is appropriate to bring it up here. Hayek sees the great conflict of Western society to be one of tribal ethics versus universal justice.

Tribal ethics demands positive duties such that the lack of well-being of another imposes upon all in the community enforceable obligations to rectify the situation. But universal justice, as we have seen, has minimal content and few positive duties. The open society was "bought at the price of an attenuation of the enforceable duty to aim deliberately at the well being of other members of the same group." Thus our emotions with respect to others' being worse off may be in conflict with the intellectual necessity of recognizing the universal rules of just conduct. This is why it is often so difficult to persuade people of the problems involved with social justice.

Now the notion of tribal ethics has been with libertarians for a long time and is generally useful. Moreover, Hayek's point about the conflict of emotions is an interesting one. Yet in making his case, he seems to subject personal morality (for instance, giving a neighbor a hand when he's down) to certain dark forces in human nature that are an evolutionary by-product of days gone by. While he certainly admits the "usefulness" of this kind of morality, his view nevertheless serves to undermine any legitimacy it might have.

Hayek attaches himself to the dubious thesis of two conflicting moral realms because he does not take seriously the view that the question of coercion is central—the one that sets the basic context in which any other moral claim must function. We need not admit two moral realms if we take the proscription of coercion to be the fundamental principle of social life with which all moral principles must accord. For Hayek, however, there can be no subsisting base, apart from social mores, providing the legitimate context in which other moral rules must operate. Nevertheless, he does draw the right conclusion when he says, "It is one of the greatest weaknesses of our time that we lack the patience and faith to build up voluntary organizations for purposes which we value highly, and immediately ask the government to bring about by coercion... anything that appears as desirable to large numbers."

In the tenth chapter, "The Market Order or Catallaxy," Hayek's intention is to show how the market order operates. Unfortunately, there is a good deal of tedious repetition of points made earlier, with little variation or development. Indeed, such repetition characterizes the last 50 pages of the book (roughly the last two chapters). This would have been a good place to have included some concrete insights, but instead, Hayek remains on the general level of the other chapters. Some highlights do stand out, such as his discussion of the pricing mechanism as an efficient vehicle for the transfer of information. He also draws an interesting distinction between catallactics and economy. The latter is an organization of means in accord with a given set of ends. The market order is, strictly speaking, not an economy but a network of many economies. Hayek thus avoids the use of "economy" for the market order as a whole and uses instead the terms "catallaxy" or "catallactics."

We have already dealt with one of the major themes of the last chapter, namely, tribal ethics. Perhaps the other most central point of this chapter is the actual divisiveness of social justice. Hayek quite brilliantly points out that because social justice requires a command economy the practical political effects come down to social warfare. If your interests and my interests diverge, then in a command economy we become enemies, for our interests depend upon gaining political power. The paradox is that by pursuing my own ends social harmony is served, whereas the pursuit of so-called social ends leads to disruption of order.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Before closing, one question remains to be asked. We have seen that Hayek has an evolutionary theory of law. But what then is the evolutionary status of those "made" laws that Hayek so profoundly attacks? In other words, does Hayek hold a radical evolutionary thesis? If so, he would be forced to admit that current trends are a natural development. If not, then Hayek's theory is at least partially normative and not purely descriptive of social processes. This latter would pose some problems for Hayek's thesis that morality, too, is evolutionary, not to mention his views on what distinguishes morals and law.

One can, in my view, admit the evolutionary thesis on custom and recognize changes or advances in moral thinking without having to posit a position of radical evolution. Moreover, one can admit that laws or moral rules are discovered and not made without having to go the whole evolutionary route. This can be done if one holds that the moral order is a real order of which humans can have knowledge. With the moral order as a real order, not all moral rules will be the products of evolutionary forces. Some will be aspects of new knowledge, making some law of the same character. Such a position, however, does not seem to be Hayek's, leaving us with our question.

Any work, especially one written by a great man such as Hayek, that systematically attacks a pernicious notion like "social justice" deserves both our attention and serious consideration. My reaction toward this particular volume, however, is quite mixed. I find problems with the book on all levels—from the profound to the mundane. The strong thesis that "social justice" is *conceptually* meaningless has not been shown by Hayek. He nevertheless scores important points against proponents of "social justice." We who are friendly to Hayek's position should remember and use these points, while not forgetting the shortcomings of his thesis. ◻

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Doomsday

Continued from p. 25.

on the horizon? "The risk of serious war is now starting to go up again, precisely because people are not worrying about the problem." First of all, "technology is producing some very dangerous" weapons, which are getting easier to buy. Second, "the kind of balance achieved by World War II is gradually weakening." Kahn believes that we avoided nuclear war in the 1950's precisely because both the United States and the Soviet Union distrusted each other and thus kept a cautious, well-balanced attitude toward each other. Disarmament talks can be destructive, he says, unless you know exactly how many missiles and weapons the other side has. Also, the major powers are less capable today of keeping the smaller countries from having a go at each other—for example, Kahn thinks there is a serious danger that China and Japan will start hurling nuclear weapons at each other in their competitition for the control of Asia, with the USSR and the United States standing ineffectively on the sidelines.

Kahn also foresees a crisis of values and morale. The upper classes have a culture and morality of their own with which they have been comfortable for generations. The middle classes, says Kahn, are in a state of transition, abandoning traditional religious values and middle-brow cultural attitudes, but without a new system to replace them. He thinks the American president is in a unique position to direct the middle classes in dressing up their self-esteem and finding a new self-image. (This was published before the presidential election of 1976. Although Jimmy Carter is offering middle-class Americans some spiritual identity, he is doing this by

Continued on p. 48

Libertarianism's Most Controversial Book??

SUPPORTERS

"Looking through *Defending the Undefendable* made me feel that I was once more exposed to the shock therapy by which, more than 50 years ago, the late Ludwig von Mises converted me to a consistent free market position. Even now I am occasionally at first incredulous and feel that "this is going too far," but usually find in the end that Block is right. Some may find it too strong a medicine, but it will still do them good even if they hate it. A real understanding of economics demands that one disabuses oneself of many dear prejudices and illusions. Popular fallacies in economics frequently express themselves in unfounded prejudices against other occupations, and in showing the falsity of these stereotypes Block is doing a real service, although he will not make himself more popular with the majority." FRIEDRICH A. VON HAYEK

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MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

"There are things that I strongly agree with and things that I strongly disagree with, but the book throughout is amusingly and sharply reasoned, courageous and always provocative."
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"Many years ago Hazlitt's little masterpiece, *Economics in One Lesson*, demonstrated how, in order to measure the consequences of economic activities, one must look beyond their immediately obvious effects to their secondary effects. Here Professor Block sets out highly specific, and sometimes shocking examples of Hazlitt's thesis. By concentrating on the positive economic contributions of extreme cases, he forces the reader's consideration and greater appreciation of these principles." ROBERT D. KEPHART

"It is a magnificent book, a trailblazer. I would call it 'Drano for Clogged Minds,' except that Drano is neither amusing nor stimulating, and this book is both. I suggest buying two copies: one for yourself and one for the person you want most to catch up with you." ROGER LEA MacBRIDE

"...More than almost any current book, *DTU* will wake the reader from his dogmatic slumbers. It is eminently readable, challenging, and provocative." JOHN HOSPERS

"Startling and illuminating! Block's lucid defenses often convince; sometimes they lead us to sharpen our attack. In either case, the reader cannot fail to be instructed and challenged by this mind-stretching, provocative, and occasionally infuriating book."
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"What the critics have missed is that as a book of *libertarianism*, not Objectivism, not Christianity, *DTU* used the *most* effective method for illustrating and teaching moral principles. Shock your friends and educate them."
DON ERNSBERGER, *S.I.L.*

"This witty and wonderful book is a veritable manual of the 'joy of freedom.' If we were only half as interested in liberty as in lust, we would not have half the problems we have."
DR. THOMAS S. SZASZ

"The most entertaining and one of the most instructive economics books I've read. Block's unique style helps you see what's going on around you quickly and clearly. The book is terrific. Taking the most extreme examples possible and clarifying them will do more to bend the reader's economic thinking than a slow steady course in good economics." HARRY BROWNE

"We can congratulate Dr. Block for some iconoclastic and courageous interpretations." ALBERT ELLIS
psychologist

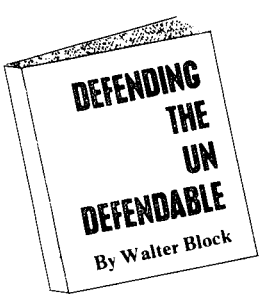
"After reading Block's book, we recognize the pimp as an honest broker and the uncorrupted cop as the Nuremberg defendant who always followed orders. We are reminded that strip-mining of coal allows miners to escape black-lung disease and cave-ins... Block gives the reader succinct yet penetrating criticisms of the Federal Reserve System, and the Keynesian paradox of savings. His chapter on charity is the best modern defense of social Darwinism that I have ever read." WILLIAMSON EVERS

"It is a brilliant, relentlessly argued book, pushing the libertarian case to its extreme limits...takes seriously Ayn Rand's dictum that one should be willing to defend the *least attractive* instance of a principle, and has done precisely that." ROY CHILDS
Editor, Libertarian Review

"Shatters, one by one, each of our liberal stereotypes. It's a pleasure to read and a treasure trove of ammunition for the defender of the free market."
TOM G. PALMER, *The New Guard*

"Toleration of unpopular religious and cultural groups has always been one of the chief tenets of classical liberalism ...Block carries this libertarian principle to its logical and radical conclusion: toleration of *all* non-aggressive pursuits." LAWRENCE WHITE
Harvard Political Review

"A remarkable book. I found myself agreeing with Block for most of the time, and his argument is often ingenious. Spend a pleasant evening reading aloud some of his chapters (they are all quite short)."
HENRY MEULEN, *The Individualist*



DETRACTORS

"There can be no question of my writing a testimonial on behalf of this book." NATHANIEL BRANDEN

"*Defending the Undefendable*—A doomed attempt, one would say. Like thinking the unthinkable, uttering the unutterable, or calculating the incalculable. As the philosopher remarked, wherefor one cannot speak, thereabout one had better keep quiet.

This assemblage of defences cannot (can it?) be facetious since it is ushered in by the author's pious reference to a 'passion for justice'...

Rather non persuasive are the cases made out for the Dishonest Cop, the Speculator in food, the Non-Contributor to Charity, the Stripminer, the Drug Pusher, the Denier of Academic Freedom, and the Person who yells 'fire' in a crowded theatre. A passion for justice ought to inspire one to greater efforts." D.J. ENRIGHT
London Times Literary Supplement

"...A positive menace to the libertarian movement. His smart-alecky, sensationalist style, the silly and false social and psychological assumptions he uses to back up some otherwise (mostly) valid political and economic points, the frivolous and insensitive attitudes he displays toward serious human problems all serve to confuse and distract from the valid points. Most people will be difficult to convince on rational political grounds without obscuring the issue with other half-baked, offensive, and unnecessary arguments. The book will be offensive to people not just because they disagree with the political arguments but because his general attitude will be interpreted as callous, asinine, and an affront to human dignity. It will surely reinforce the worst stereotypes people have about capitalists." SHARON PRESLEY
Laissez Faire Books

"...The wrong book at the wrong time ...An absolutely mad way of introducing someone to libertarianism...I am convinced that it is probably a short run strategic disaster. One needs not only a steel will based on solid libertarian premises to accept Professor Block's message, but one needs a cast iron stomach as well. Those whom he defends are often, if not usually, the dregs of society; we could even say the very scum of the earth." WALTER GRINDER
Libertarian Review

"*DTU* is a work of unrealized potential. The editing is sloppy. And the quality of the writing varies from chapter to chapter. Many good arguments, and indeed the book itself, founder over a simple misconception: Block is misusing the word *hero*...He is not consistently attentive to detail, nor is he very ambitious in enriching his rich thesis with examples and anecdotes. If he had attended better to the art of writing and spared us the silly insistence of making all of society's rogues into heroes, then his very important thesis might well have become a very important book." JAMES D. DAVIDSON
Libertarian Review

"Not only does he *defend* prostitutes, pimps, counterfeiters, ticket scalpers, slumlords, blackmailers, libelors, stripminers, letterers, and scabs (among others), he actually has the temerity to call them *heroes*! Block even has the gall to challenge the most enduring shiboleth of higher education, academic freedom."
DAN C. HELDMAN, *Universitas*

"The polarization of opinions on Block's book should not be surprising. It is a reflection of the book's schizophrenic nature—a bizarre combination of both excellent and horrible elements. Apparently the endorsers chose to consider only the Dr. Jekyll side of DTU and either ignored or failed to take seriously Mr. Hyde."
SHARON PRESLEY, *Reason*

"Political and economic defense of the voluntary activities of society's "scapegoats"—pimps, slumlords, moneylenders, etc. Done in a sensationalistic style, much of the reasoning is questionable and unnecessarily offensive. Not a good introduction to libertarianism." LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS CATALOGUE

"Block defends some of the silliest ideas in support of an essentially good cause ... He raises some stimulating issues, even if in an intellectually inadequate fashion...A foolish consistency may be the 'hobgoblin of little minds,' as Emerson said, but serious inconsistancy (as in this book) is the downfall of many theories about morality and law." TIBOR MACHAN
World Research Ink

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What a treasure there is here for the Adam Smith buff, as Professor Benjamin Rogge styles himself in one of these volumes, and also for the connoisseur of the arts of printing and publishing!

First, the University of Chicago Press has reproduced and bound in one volume, instead of the customary two, Edwin Cannan's famous edition of *The Wealth of Nations*, adding to it an introduction by that doyen of contemporary Smith scholars, Professor George Stigler. Though the single volume is perhaps physically unwieldy, it is also physically sturdy enough to sustain heavy use, which is high testimony to the printing and binding skill that has gone into its making. And, as Stigler points out, the decision to make one volume of it has enabled the publishers to produce the great tome at a price that, being singularly modest, would have received the ready approval of the master himself. The merits of Cannan's edition established it long ago as the best available, especially because of his punctilious attention to every verbal variation, however minute, between the first few editions of the book and the careful judgment he exercised in making his choice between them. Stigler's introduction is not as replete as might be expected with those witty sallies that come so easily to his pen and are so delightful. Perhaps when one is closely bound to Smith himself and to that solid scholar Cannan, it is right to be a sobersides. Witty or not, Stigler rarely fails to be instructive and illuminating, and he is not lacking in these qualities here.

INTRODUCING ADAM SMITH

Second, the Liberty Fund of Indianapolis has produced a tour de force of publishing in the other volumes noticed here. It is establishing two series, which on the evidence of these volumes are likely in point of technical quality to arouse the high admiration of the publishing world. Liberty Classics is offering new editions of famous works that have long been established in the world of learning, and Liberty Press is producing modern studies by scholars writing mainly in the classical liberal tradition and its offshoots. Adam Smith's other classic, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, appears in the first series. E.G. West's biography, a study already fairly widely known, and Benjamin Rogge and John Haggarty's work appear in the second. All three books have been produced in a typeface to delight the eye and in paper and binding of choicest grade. Here are printing and bookbinding to excite the admiration of the bibliophile, whatever his views on Smith's economic, political, or moral theories.

The Liberty Fund has also been fortunate in its selection of Professors West and Rogge and Mr. Haggarty to discharge the tasks allotted to them. The reader who comes fresh to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, having, as is common, read only *The Wealth of Nations*, or parts of it, will find West's introduction a model of its kind. There is much in this stage of the development of Smith's thought that can be misunderstood and also much that might appear to be in conflict with his later views as propounded in *The Wealth of Nations*. Patiently and perceptively, West deals with these points and leads the student to a grasp of the value of this work, which would have attracted far more scholarly notice in the past two centuries had it not been overshadowed by the superabundant fame of *The Wealth of Nations*.

Professor Rogge's introduction is intended, not to give us any learned disquisition on Smith, but mainly to tell us who John Haggarty is and how he, a noneconomist and nonphilosopher, came to undertake the task of selecting and assembling the quotations in *The Wisdom of Adam Smith*. John Haggarty it was who, under the guidance of Professors Ronald Coase, Rogge, and West, was responsible for the

production of the film on Smith celebrating the bicentenary of *The Wealth of Nations*, a film that has now been seen far and wide on both sides of the Atlantic. Here we have a selection of several hundred quotations that run the gamut of his teaching in both of his classics.

Even those who have never given him a serious reading know that Smith was a jewel of a writer. Many of his choice observations have of course been quoted numberless times, because of the aptness and skill of his use of language and because their applicability is timeless. Over and over again he knocks a nail fairly and squarely on the head, not merely for his own times, but also for us who live two centuries later. It is as if, in dilating on policy and politicians, business and businessmen, he were sitting in our own armchair and discoursing with unerring accuracy on the problems, and mostly on the follies, that present themselves to us this very day. Mr. Haggarty enables us to run our eye over pearl after pearl of wisdom, intelligently classified and assembled, so that there are likely to be few greater pleasures for the student of human affairs than to take his book down from its shelf from time to time and regale himself with some quotation that, although already repeated a thousand times, is as fresh as today's newspaper headline—and probably far more apt to the event concerned.

With books that are first coming to the public's notice, a reviewer will be mainly concerned with their substance and hardly, if at all, with the achievements embodied in them of the printer, bookbinder, publisher, or even the learned writer of an introduction. Here, with two established classics, the case is different. Hence I have thought it right so far to draw the reader's attention to these volumes partly as new products of the arts of publishing, to be considered on that basis to be worthy or unworthy of addition to his library, and partly on the basis of the work of their editorial and introductory contributors. As *The Wisdom of Adam Smith* consists of quotations taken from the two Smith classics, it is in the same category as they except insofar as the author's wisdom of selection falls for consideration. Only West's biography of Smith is in a different category, calling additionally for assessment as a modern study.

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

Is there nothing to be said, then, about the substance of the two Smith classics that has not already been said, perhaps ad nauseam? It may be so. Quite apart from the attention Smith has received in the past 200 years from scholars and commentators of all kinds and from many points of the compass, the bicentenary year, 1976, naturally saw a rich crop of celebratory essays, mostly devoted, as was proper, to his relevance to our times. Nevertheless, it may not be otiose to offer some observations on certain features of his work. For

A Wealth of Adam Smith

The Wealth of Nations
By Adam Smith. Edited by Edwin Cannan, with a new preface by George J. Stigler 2 vols. in 1
Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1976. 568 pp. $8.95 (paper)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments
By Adam Smith. With an introductin by E.G. West
Indianapolis: Liberty Classics. 1976. 546 pp. $9.95/$2.95

Adam Smith: The Man and His Works
By E.G. West
Indianapolis: Liberty Press. 1976. 254 pp. $6.95/$1.45

The Wisdom of Adam Smith
Selected by John Haggarty. Edited and with an introduction by Benjamin A. Rogge
Indianapolis: Liberty Press. 1976. 233 pp. $7.95/$1.95

Reviewed by Arthur Shenfield

though the world may commit again and again all the errors exposed and castigated by Smith—and then some—yet it can never be the same as it was before 1776. As the world again and again looks to be saved from the effects of its errors, it may repeatedly overlook Smith; but he will be there all the time to point the way to safety or success, and sooner or later there will be men to take notice.

One does not need to read more than a few pages of Smith to see that here was a man whose distinguishing mark was not analytical ability—admirable though that was despite the fairly numerous mistakes which later economists exposed—but civility; urbanity; freedom from subservience to or partiality for special interests; absence of the passion that corrodes thought, especially thought upon the problems of society; a capacity to see life whole; an ability to see men as they are and not as the gods or utopians might wish them to be; and an absence of any attachment to a grand theory of history or

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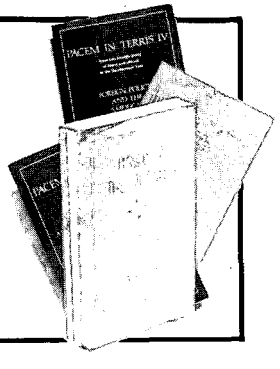

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society purporting to give us the key to everything. We are familiar with these characteristics as typical of the best qualities of the 18th-century English-speaking world, and especially of the intellectuals of that world, but in fact they are also typical of the classical economists in general. Thus, for example, compare Carlyle and Ruskin with the classical economists in character as well as in intellectual insight, and see what impudence it was for them to assail the classics. To the extent that these qualities of the classical tradition have evaporated or been diluted, the loss to the civilized world has been calamitous.

A QUALITY THINKER

Did I say that Smith was free from subservience to or partiality for special interests? Was he not a man of his times? Did he not serve the interests of the rising capitalist class? For all his criticisms of the follies of politicians, did he not refrain from advocating the overthrow of the political structure of the Britain, or even Europe, of his time? Thus by implication did he not endorse it? Yes, he was indeed in the best sense a man of his times, which is as good a commendation as one can give him. He did indeed serve the interests of the rising capitalists, but only because and to the extent that their interests coincided with the general interest. His pen was never so quick or eloquent to denounce the service of a special interest as when that interest was the selfish and antisocial one of merchants or capitalists (except perhaps in the surprising case of his misunderstanding of usury, where he was ready to control the rate of interest in favor of "genuine" investors and against the "profligate" men of fashion). He did indeed broadly accept the political structure of Britain, and to some extent of Europe, but that was because he knew that all improvement must start from where it starts—a fact of life that all utopians and most reformers can never learn. He barely lived long enough to see the beginnings of the French Revolution, but had he survived a little longer he would without doubt have taken the same view of it as Burke, and it hardly needs to be said that he would have been right. Of course, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the American Revolution were of a very different kidney.

Did I say that he was free from attachment to any grand theory of history or society, which is the mark both of the inferior scholar and of the ideologue who lays the paving for the road to hell? What about his "natural system of liberty"? Was not that a grand theory of society? Perhaps it was, but see with what common sense and freedom from fanaticism he held it. And in any case the "natural system of liberty" is perhaps the only type of grand theory of society which cannot pave the way to hell.

Did I say he was free from passion? Surely there was some passion in his exposure and denunciation of the follies of mercantilism and of related errors of politicians and merchant wirepullers. Yes, but this was not the passion that corrodes, the passion of the pulpiteer or the ideologue who not only denounces but also hates those whom he thinks to be in error.

Did I say that he saw men as they were, not as they ought to be by the standards of the gods or utopians? Then how could he believe in the possibility of the improvement of conduct that his natural system of liberty, free trade, and a mainly noninterventionist state would require? And if he did see men as they were, was it not this that led him to place more reliance upon the invisible hand of self-interest than it could bear? It is true that men being what they were, they would seek to manipulate the power of the State in their favor. This was the mark of the State in 1776, and it is even more so in 1976 or 1977. Yet Smith was not in error in thinking it possible that to some extent men would learn to moderate their appetite for the manipulation of State power, though typically he did not succumb to excessive optimism on this point (after all it was as likely, he thought, that an Oceana or Utopia would be established in Britain as that free trade would be adopted!). And free trade *was* adopted, albeit 70 years after 1776, and a largely noninterventionist State did rise in Britain in the mid-19th century. It is true that later there was a slow but terrible relapse, so that now Britain is perhaps the archetype of the modern "democratic" State in which there is a war of all against all by way of the competitive manipulation of the State by an array of group interests. Smith would not have been surprised by this, but wisely he would not have accepted it as the last act in the drama of political affairs. After all, even in our degenerate democracy, there are still some things in which the general interest prevails over sectional interests, and to take men as they are, with all their failings, does not imply that they cannot rise above their attachment to their sectional interests and cleave in fair measure to the general interest.

Smith was not attached to any grand theory of history or society purporting to give us the key to everything.

As for self-reliance and the invisible hand, it is quite false to say that Smith placed more reliance upon their beneficent results than was justified. Although the invisible hand is a metaphor or image that bespeaks a highly gifted writer, it has had the unfortunate effect among the ignorant or the perverse of suggesting that Smith thought there was some kind of magic at work in the process, transmuting selfishness into unselfishness, evil into good, dross into gold. How easy to demonstrate the naivete of the champions of the free economy if they believe in such magic! Those, especially in Germany, who sneered at Smith's alleged *Harmonielehre*, seemed to believe that Smith knew no difference between selfishness and unselfishness—a travesty of the thinking of a man like Smith who knew far better than most people what made the world go round.

There are several reasons why this kind of view is a travesty. First, in its simplest form the concept of the invisible hand advanced two propositions of undeniable truth and importance: that in a free bargain the purposes of both parties must be served even though each has in mind only his own purpose; and that an economic order or pattern can arise without any central direction. The latter truth is, of course, always ignored or misunderstood by those who imagine that the free economy is an anarchy, without order or coherence, and must therefore be replaced by the "planned economy" (which, ironically, really is without order or coherence!).

Second, the self-interest that is turned to good purpose by the invisible hand is not to be equated with selfishness. It is nothing other than the aim of the purposeful behavior of Ludwig von Mises's acting man. It may be selfish or unselfish, innerdirected or otherdirected. The food in the market may be bought by the glutton whose thought is only for his belly or by the manager of the soup kitchen whose only aim is to feed the hungry. The bricks in the market may be sold for a church or a brothel, for a school or for a gambling den. The invisible hand is at work in all these cases. Of course, as Smith was familiar with the stuff of mankind, he knew very well that selfishness is sometimes the sole spring of human action and often a dominant part of it. All the more important it was, therefore, that men should see that if only they built the right legal and constitutional framework for the market (consistent with and facilitating the "natural system of liberty"), even men's baser instincts could be harnessed to the needs of other men. The concept of the invisible hand is thus one of

the major discoveries of scientific thinking.

Third, it is almost always overlooked by Smith's critics that he first propounded the concept of the invisible hand in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, not in *The Wealth of Nations*. Now in the former he was concerned with the sympathy of men for each other and with the Impartial Spectator (acting as our conscience) who induced men to behave more or less with a worthy regard for the interests of others. Thus the notion that he erected self-interest, in the sense of selfishness, as a *maxim* for human behavior is a preposterous misunderstanding. It is true, of course, that Smith's concept of sympathy and of the Impartial Spectator was not rooted in the precepts of religion or of any pure form of altruism. There was a self-regarding element in it. Nevertheless, even though his account of the springs of sympathy and care for others is certainly not the last word in psychological analysis, there is a substantial measure of illuminating truth in it that has in my judgment been largely ignored, owing to the fact that it appeared in the relatively neglected *Theory of Moral Sentiments*.

SMITH SMILED

A further feature of Smith's work that ought to be noted is that there is a marvellous ripeness about it owing to his capacity to see life in the round, his knowledge of the ways of the world, and above all his profound and extensive reading of history. Even his mistakes, though sometimes serious, are never of a contemptible or perverse character. His knowledge of the facts of the world, of the state of affairs in all kinds of countries from China to Peru, and of the history of the ancient and medieval worlds, taught him, as it had to do, that the human record is mostly one of folly, evil, and perversity. As the Swedish Baron Oxenstierna said in a famous note, "See, my son, with what little wisdom the affairs of the world are conducted." Yet there was no sourness in Smith. Many men, he knew, were Yahoos, but many were not. The blood never rushed to his head, even when describing or denouncing folly. It is this that makes us so comfortable with him as in our mind's eye we sit and converse with him on the affairs of the world.

Compare this with Marx. Marx, too, was a voracious and voluminous reader of history, and he too had a very wide knowledge of what we would now call sociological phenomena. But, quite apart from the preposterousness of his theory of history and the perversity of his economic analysis, what I believe should and does turn off the wise when contemplating Marx is the sourness that his historical and sociological reading either created in him, or intensified, or failed to dilute.

Smith's urbane and civilized character is well examined and presented in West's biography. This is not the heavy two-tome biography that used to be accorded to the famous, nor is it likely to qualify as the final and definitive Life of the master. But it is an excellent and highly readable account of the essential facts of his life and work. For the majority of students, and especially for the newcomer to Smith, it is to be highly recommended. ◻

An economist and barrister at law, Arthur Shenfield has taught at various universities in the United States and Great Britain.

Doomsday

Continued from p. 42.

repopularizing the old-time values rather than by presenting a new set of values and cultural attitudes to identify with. It would be interesting to find out whether Kahn considers this a positive development.)

The charts, graphs, and data published in *The Next 200 Years* are the results of a study by Kahn and his associates at the Hudson Institute. Those readers who are interested can analyze Kahn's figures along with the data published by the Club of Rome and other doomsday groups and can conclude for themselves which camp has a better handle on the direction in which the human race is heading.

It would be encouraging to see more futurists with Kahn's orientation enter the prediction business—even though some of what he has to say is debatable. As long as these people have an influence on our politicians and central planners (an influence that is growing every year), it would be preferable to have Herman Kahn at the ear of the president instead of Paul Ehrlich or the Club of Rome—just as, if someone will be advising the president on economic matters, it would be better to have Milton Friedman than, say, John Kenneth Galbraith.

The prediction business is a burgeoning field, and it is still in its infancy. Professional futurists may soon be ordained as the high priests of the 21st century. It seems that we will all have to learn to live with them, since they are not about to go away. For those who would like to keep abreast of what is happening in the field, these two books are well worth looking into. ◻

Mr. Tuccille is the author of four books, two of which deal with futuristic themes: Here Comes Immortality *and* Who's Afraid of 1984? *His new book, on investing wisely, will be published in a few months.*

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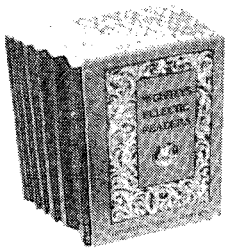

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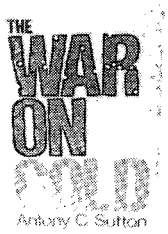

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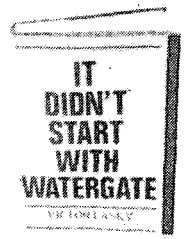

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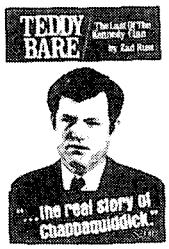

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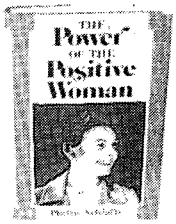

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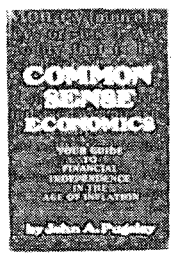

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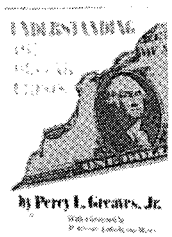

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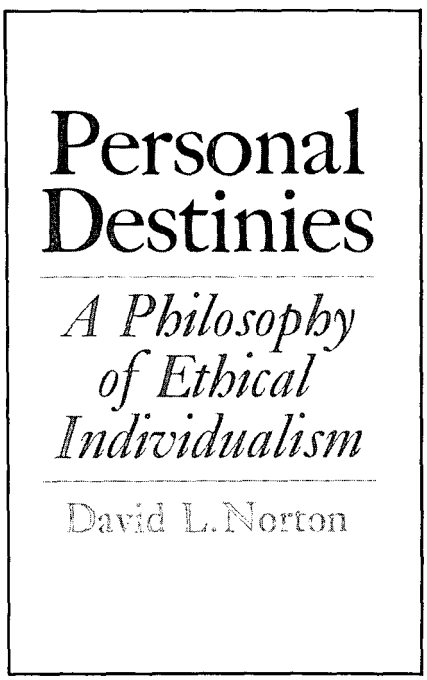
The Ethics of Self-Actualization

A New Defense of Individualism

Personal Destinies
By David L. Norton
Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1976. 398 pp. $22.50/$4.95

Reviewed by Donald S. Lee



Decades of painstaking and sometimes agonizing work in philosophy prove to be worth it all when a book like David Norton's comes along. Moreover, this book proves that philosophy need by no means be a dry and bloodless affair. Philosophy—literally, love of wisdom—can be, as it is supposed to be, approachable by all. Norton's *Personal Destinies* addresses tough philosophical issues, yes; but it does much more. One is hard-pressed to think of any other recent or near-recent book that is scholarly yet speaks to laymen so directly, accessibly, and, as a great bonus, beautifully. There are some difficult parts, but no reader should expect a worthwhile book to read like pap that makes it to the "bestseller" list. Because of its personal relevance and Norton's comfort with words, *Personal Destinies* rewards the care it requires with enormous pleasure—with elation, even.

RESCUING INDIVIDUALISM

This is a book on ethics, one that speaks to each of us without preaching, yet with the capacity to teach if one but pays heed. The work develops the ethics of self-actualization, or eudaimonism. "Eudaimonism," as Norton explains, "is the term for the ethical doctrine. . . that each person is obliged to know and live the truth to his *daimon* [genius, or individual capacities and aptitudes], thereby progressively actualizing an excellence that is his innately and potentially."

This ethical doctrine received its first expression in the great Greek philosophers, but it today needs revitalization. As Norton explains why, we get a taste of his spirited prose and encouraging viewpoint.

> Beneath the accretions of contravening epochs and cultures a vestige of the original eudaimonistic intuition endures today, I believe, in the individual's residual conviction of his own irreplaceable worth. But this small conviction is wholly unequipped to withstand the drubbing it takes from the world, and from which all too often it never recovers. At its first appearance it is buffeted by alarms and commotion, and trampled beneath the scurrying crowd. Propped upright it is conscripted to this cause or that where roll call is "by the numbers," truth is prescribed, and responsibility is collective, the individual's share being determined by arithmetic apportionment. What remains is a merely numerical individuation, deriving its fugitive worth from the collective whole of which it is a replaceable part.

So Norton sets out to resurrect individualism, saving it from the funeral for which it has been scheduled over and over again.

The thesis Norton defends isn't brand new: the ultimacy of good, right, responsibility, and other ethical ideas lies in the potential for development of the abilities, talents, and expressions of individual persons. People don't have potentials to express themselves in the same *actual* way, so goodness does not lie in what each does in particular but in the actualizing of whatever each is best suited for. Though not a new idea, Norton transforms it into a consistently woven fabric, with new patterns that meet much of the criticism heaped upon its earlier forms.

A FIRM FOUNDATION

Norton first travels the history of ideas so as to show us where notions similar to his have failed. Here he discusses some philosophers not popularly known and others who are the layman's only link to what philosophers are about. (Jean-Paul Sartre, known as the major Existentialist thinker, is among the latter.)

Then *Personal Destinies* confronts the

big task, the only segment of the book that is really tough sledding. To pave the way for talking about the myriad directions available in human life, Norton sets out a metaphysics of genuine possibilities. "It is philosophy," he notes,"—and pre-eminently metaphysics—that apprehends alternatives to whatever happens presently to exist...[and therefore] affords ultimate exemplification of human freedom." Thus does Norton explain the necessity of this difficult section on the metaphysics of self-actualization. It is not forbidding, though; rather it is a tribute to his instructive ability in presenting the vast bulk of his book with the lucidity and style of a novel.

Now Norton turns to the most directly relevant task—the development of the concrete ethical implications of individualism. His discussion of the stages of human life is perhaps his most exciting and challenging contribution to self-actualization ethics. Here he follows the psychological lead of Jung and Erikson but goes far beyond them. Childhood, adolescence, maturity, old age—these are the stages of one's life, each with its own principle of self-actualization. Childhood is absorption guided by external authority; adolescence, an insecure search for one's own aptitudes, or potencies; maturity, a striving to express those potencies; and old age, a realization that one has no future. Full individualism is experienced in maturity, where performance is the objective measure of self-actualization and felt striving is the subjective measure of potencies within. By differentiating stages of life, Norton opens our eyes to moral truth that we have always felt facing us but that we have been unable to articulate.

MUTUAL APPRECIATION

Does individualism reduce to a dog-eat-dog world of conflicting self-actualizers? That it must, is the most persistent charge leveled at such an ethics. Norton meets this charge by wedding the individual psychology of his system and a theory of the social act. This is a brilliant move, dismissing once and for all the haunting bugaboo that the self and society are by necessity in eternal conflict.

A human being becomes conscious of itself as a self only in social interaction with others. One's knowledge of one's selfhood emerges *concomitantly* with the knowledge of others as selves. Thus a self has as part of itself the direct recognition of many feelings, meanings, and potencies of others. This automatically involves a self-actualizing individual in the promotion of others' development as part of his own.

Instead of the dog-eat-dog caricature advanced by anti-individualists, we have a social theory of complementarity. Individual differences in life aims and styles are not ranked from inferior to superior; complementarity based on mutual appreciation can replace conflict based on hierarchical antagonisms. Self-esteem and social worth are to correspond to productive performance in actualizing one's potencies. Of course, failures can generate conflict, but the charge has always been that interpersonal conflict is *inherent* in the best of individualist systems.

His discussion of the stages of human life is perhaps his most exciting and challenging contribution to self-actualization ethics.

This brings up what Norton has to contribute to the contemporary fray in political theory. A section of *Personal Destinies* is devoted to the egalitarian/redistributive thought of John Rawls and the libertarian thought of Robert Nozick (and Norton is at work on a more comprehensive treatment of social and political philosophy). Here he has the upper hand over Rawls and Nozick, for his theory is directly applicable to our ongoing social experience. Whereas Nozick and Rawls return, conceptually, to square one to begin again—Nozick with his utopian framework, Rawls with his veil of ignorance and "original position" —Norton's theory requires only evolutionary change starting from the present position.

With its potential applications to experience, this theory is extremely useful. It yields a coherent perspective in numerous areas of concern to us. It also displaces some of the more loyally embraced pet theories of our times. As an example of the theory's fruitfulness, let's look at the general social panorama and see how we can extend the theory.

MASS INDIVIDUALISM

Western civilization is now largely a mass culture: city life, media, production, transportation, health services, education—in short, all our institutions —are geared to extremely large numbers of people. Norton wants to make individual self-actualization more and more prevalent by a reordering among and within these institutions. Though self-actualizing can and sometimes does occur within mass society, such a society is geared, not to the self-actualization of autonomous individuals, but only to the routines of numerically identifiable units. Given this harsh reality, the task of social reorientation Norton calls for is staggering. His vision, however, is plausible, while other alternatives seem less than possible. He does not suggest that government could bring about the reorientation. Within the spirit of his thesis, the most that government could do would be to inform and educate in a noncompulsory way.

If any factor crucially underlies the problems of Western society, it is *over-expectation.* Politicians, Madison Avenue, credit institutions, and educators have cultivated the belief that everyone has an immediate right to this, that, and the other. The simple fact is that there simply is not and cannot be nearly enough material goods, medical treatment, service time, capital, expertise, access to information, defense deterrence, concern for fairness, sexual beauty, family devotion, or supportive love to go around at the incredible levels we have been led to expect.

Though Norton does not address this problem directly, his theory can explain why such a state of affairs has arisen, and that is the first test of the theory. If self-actualization is indeed the key to normative behavior, then our expectations register how much remains to be accomplished in any particular task. This guidance of present action by future expectations is the greatest strength in human behavior. But, a point of greatest strength is always a point of greatest vulnerability; so the present widespread malaise of society can be interpreted within Norton's theory as a dysfunction of the expectation mechanism. All people have unidentified yearnings (which Norton takes to be natural signs of striving for self-actualization) that politicians and advertisers prey upon to turn into insatiable cravings. Norton's theory is virtually able to predict over-expectation when technological success is grafted over a future-oriented mass society.

POSSIBLE FUTURES

Not only can Norton's theory explain why we are caught in the present thicket of social troubles, but it points a way out. For he develops the idea of reconstructing our pasts. A person's expectations are largely a function of the kind of self-image he has, drawn from what he considers his past successes and failures to be. Self-actualization, as Norton sees it, would have each person reinterpret his own past in terms of personal success—the accomplishment of goals relative to his own abilities and potencies, and not judged by exterior standards of perfection, glamor, wealth, and power. Such a

Book Hints

There are now a number of institutions with a free-market or libertarian orientation that are bringing out books and monographs of interest.

The Institute for Humane Studies (1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025) has a mongraph series begun more than ten years ago that includes studies in economics, social theory, history and philosophy, law, and education. Recent releases include *Liberty and Law,* by Giovanni Sartori (1976); *The New Despotism,* by Robert Nisbet (1976); and *The Political Economy of Public School Legislation,* by E. G. West (1977). In addition, the Institute sponsors the publication of books in several series: Principles of Freedom, Economic Theory, Revisionist History, and General. Brand new in the last category are *Planning without Prices*, ed. Bernard Siegan (1977), and a 2nd ed. of Murray Rothbard's *Power and Market* (1977). The economics series consists of six books brought out in the past three years explicating and developing Austrian economics. Allied with the Institute is the Center for Independent Education (Box 2256, Wichita, KS 67201), which publishes books and pamphlets on public vs. private education. They range from how-to (start your own school, or get a competitive school system implemented in the United States) works to legal and economic analyses of court decisions and present and proposed educational arrangements.

The Institute for Contemporary Studies (260 California St., San Francisco, CA 94111) has since 1975 been publishing or sponsoring paperback collections of essays—studies by experts in various fields concerned. Among them are: *No Land Is an Island: Individual Rights and Government Control of Land Use* (1975); *No Time To Confuse* (1975)—a critique of the much-touted report from the Ford Foundation's Energy Policy Project; *New Directions in Public Health Care* (1976); *Public Employee Unions* (1977); and *Social Security: Problems and Opportunities.*

On a smaller scale are the monographs put out by the Committee for Monetary Research and Education (Box 1630, Greenwich, CT 06830) and the International Institute for Economic Research (Los Angeles; publications distributed by Green Hill Publishers, Box 738, Ottawa, IL 61350). The former has a Monetary Tract series covering inflation, the gold standard, gold-clause contracts, indexation, exchange rates, etc. The latter publishes short original papers—so far by such scholars as Milton Friedman (*Adam Smith's Relevance for 1976,* 1976) and Allan H. Melzer (*Why Government Grows,* 1976)—reprints, for example, *Two Essays on Income Distribution and the Open Society,* by Irving Kristol and Peter T. Bauer (1977).

In embattled England there's the Institute of Economic Affairs (books distributed by Transatlantic Arts, Levittown, NY 11756), which this year celebrated an anniversary with *Not from Benevolence ... Twenty Years of Economic Dissent*, a summary and tying together of the Institute's publications. Recently these have included: *Denationalisation of Money* and its more meaty follow-up, *Choice in Currency,* both by F. A. Hayek (1976); *From Galbraith to Economic Freedom,* by Milton Friedman (1977); and *The Credibility of Liberal Economics*, by Alan Peacock (1976).

Then there is the American Enterprise Institute (1150 17th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036), perhaps becoming in economics a free-market counterpart to the influential Brookings Institution. Its publications are numerous, ranging from AEI Studies (in Government Regulation, Foreign Policy, Advertising, Economic Policy, etc.) to Round Table discussions (for example, between Ralph Nader, Ronald Reagan, and Hubert Humphrey on FDA regulation) and now to bimonthly magazines—*AEI Defense Review* and *Regulation*. The latter has a potentially useful section in which scholarly journal articles relating to government regulation are summarized and reviewed. It will be interesting to see which way *Regulation* drifts, however, in light of Irving Kristol's "Opinion" lead-off in its first issue: "No reasonable person is *in principle* opposed to all government regulation."

reassessment of one's past would be a psychological base from which to project *reasonable expectations* of one's own future.

Another theoretical notion of Norton's is valuable for breaking the vicious circle of increasing over-expectation: opening our eyes to possibilities that can become the source of inner satisfactions and appreciations. The realm of possibilities that can become real potencies is much wider than most people dream of in their everyday philosophies. Coming awake to this would sensitize people toward avenues that might be theirs to travel and would heighten the appreciation of others' complementary potentialities.

We see, then, that Norton's ethical theory is compelling in somewhat the same way as a successful scientific theory. Of course, here, the appeal is to verification in moral experience. There are some difficulties, however, in applying this theory realistically to people statistically distributed over various degrees of self-actualization. Norton touches on some of these and not on others. Among the difficulties are the following: the need for continual education of everyone for the appreciation of complementary values; the psychological inclination toward gregariousness that breeds a herd mentality among men; compulsiveness in performance; and the presumption that there will be enough people who can actualize themselves by doing all the tedious and grungy work that needs doing.

PURSUING INDIVIDUALISM

No single book can tackle all these problems nor even most of them in great detail. It is to Norton's credit that his treatise can stimulate such interest to pursue its implications. He fully recognizes that he will have accomplished what he wanted if he provokes serious thought along these lines.

In *Personal Destinies,* Norton has preserved the basic thrust of the ethics of individual self-actualization as propounded throughout philosophical history. He has achieved preservation by a remarkable transformation. Those with an impulse toward such an ethical thrust, in whole or in part, should not rest easy till they have worked through Norton's transformed rendition. The resulting satisfaction is more than worth the effort —an effort that is in itself an intellectual delight. On the other hand, those who attempt to refute self-actualizing individualism will from now on have to take Norton into account. ◻

Professor Lee teaches philosophy at Tulane University. He is widely published in scholarly journals.

A Tribute

"Atlas Shrugged" at Twenty

by Tibor Machan

Twenty years ago *Atlas Shrugged* was published. In 1961 I met two airmen at Andrews AFB, and they sparked my interest in Ayn Rand, the author. That year Gore Vidal reviewed Rand's *For the New Intellectual* in *Esquire*. I read the review and reported to my buddies how easily Vidal disposed of Rand's viewpoint. They asked me whether I had ever read any of Rand's works, and I told them I had not. "Wouldn't it be smarter to read her works before you accept Vidal's opinion?" they queried. That made sense; so I read *The Fountainhead*, and then *Atlas Shrugged*, and so on.

To say that *Atlas Shrugged* influenced my subsequent life more than anything else is too pedestrian a way of putting it. For my part I became so interested in the substance of Rand's philosphy that I did not spend too much time on considering just what her works did for me. I think I was ready for them. Indeed, knowing that millions of people have read her and that a good many of them say, "A very nice book, I enjoyed it a lot"—period—I doubt that books can do anything for a person who does not bring a hell of a lot to them in the first place. Yet clearly the works of Rand had and continue to have an impact on my life.

Sociologists would be better than I at assessing the cultural impact of *Atlas Shrugged*. Literary critics and analysts would do better than I at dissecting it and showing its superb plot structure, integrity, and linguistic artistry. My own praise for the work is personal. I never read a novel with such absorption and stick-to-itness before or since. Nor has any work since given me such heights of elation, joy, and excitement. Perhaps most of all, none other has prompted me to tear out 60 pages to bind and savor for further reading, over and over again.

I recall that after reading *Atlas Shrugged*, some of my Air Force buddies and I spent many weekends sitting in the all-night coffee shop at Andrews' main terminal, trying to overcome the points Rand advanced. We concocted the hairiest counter arguments in order to make certain for ourselves that her ideas hold. This was not the work of careful philosophical analysis but that of reasonably well-developed laymen trying to come to grips with an enormous intellectual challenge. And there was nothing we could detect that would destroy Rand's case.

Not apart from, but bound to, Rand's point of view were the feelings *Atlas Shrugged* evoked in me. For the first time, I could articulate something I am certain I had wished to say for years. This was that *my* life mattered, that *I* was important, that there is not only nothing wrong but everything right with a person wanting to live his or her own life—*my* life, in this case. Today the theme of self-assertion echoes through the culture's numerous forums of self-help psychotherapy, but back in 1961 I had only heard of what you owe the world, how you must pay in coins it has legitimized, and how rotten you are if some of your doings don't go to dues—to gods, parents, neighbors, the State, your ethnic group, your country, etc.

So much for my efforts to speak of the initial personal impact of *Atlas Shrugged*. More important, I believe, is the ensuing life—my own, as well as the lives of those thousands who have paid tribute to Miss Rand, not by mouthing some slogans borrowed from her, not by repeating some arguments in a tone that antagonizes even the most willing listener, not by asking Rand to do the work they must do themselves—but by living well as the individuals they are and could be, by using their heads.

There is much to Ayn Rand's works that could use extensive discussion, but not here. The one point I want to make in closing is that the occasional misemphasis Rand places on *cool* rationality—more in tone than in substance—should not be held against her. I have never found it necessary to give up laughter, smiling, elation, joy, pleasure, or the less than welcome feelings in my life in the light of my agreement with Rand's view that the sustained use of reason is one's highest virtue. I always suspect that those who concluded differently did not use their reason carefully enough. Perhaps, finding themselves *so* alone in admiring human rationality, many who found Rand's ideas sound went overboard with a false stiffness. Nothing, in my view, is further from what is implied by her point of view than the rejection of one's emotions *qua* emotions. *Atlas Shrugged* would hardly be the masterpiece it is if the place of emotions were to be projected in it as subservient to reason. The whole idea is that the emotions and one's reason should not be expected to do the same job in one's life.

It would be pleasant, indeed, to be able to thank Miss Rand personally for her great work and the rest of her good labors. But, alas, that is not to be in my case. I met Miss Rand once and I was not disappointed; I was even touched by a warmth I am sure few believe she

possesses. But shortly after that day in 1962, my contact with her was broken because I offended her and she responded to this with total dismissal. My loss, I am sure—and very likely hers, too. So, also, with quite a few wonderful people I know whom she would admire if she only knew them.

Not before and not since Miss Rand presented her integrated, though by no means complete, philosophical work, via her novels and essays, has there been another voice speaking for human excellence and liberty so clearly and enthusiastically. Enjoying her art and absorbing the central themes of her philosophy could be harmful only to those who bring nothing to what she has to offer.

One of my hopes is that there will be more and more who will bring a great deal to what they find around them and that most of these individuals will have the good fortune of encountering *Atlas Shrugged,* Ayn Rand's greatest achievement and one of the great achievements of intellectual history, so far as I can judge. ◻

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Political Nemesis

Continued from p. 21.

from the overarching industrial dream. It has spread as far and wide as universal schooling, mass transportation, industrial wage labor, and the medicalization of health."

Maybe some of the things we enjoy *are* "irrational fantasies." Consider downhill skiing with the aid of a mechanical lift to take us back up a 10,000-foot mountain; vacation flights by thousands to tropical islands in the middle of an ocean; a $5,000 camper truck parked in the garage of any industrial worker who wants one; coronary bypass surgery to relieve the crushing pain of angina pectoris for a few years; or radiation treatment with a linear accelerator to cure cancer of the vocal cord which would otherwise slowly suffocate one to death. Not all of us would want or need many of these things, but in a free country with a free market, you pay your money and you take your choice. I suspect that Ivan Illich would dismantle the technology that makes the choice possible.

There is a vital lesson in the Nemesis myth, but Illich missed it. Industry, for all its pervasive effect on the way we live, does not *attempt* to *dominate* society. It offers us choices, alternatives that we can take or refuse. The institution that *does* attempt to dominate society is government itself. Not only does political authority have the *hubris* to claim to speak for all of society, it has fooled much of the public and the intelligentsia into believing that it is proper to do so. It has usurped the taxing authority to confiscate the surplus—nay, the very economic substance—of the rest of the institutions of society; it has contaminated our history with its wars; it has expropriated our savings by inflating the supply of money; it has destroyed our inner cities by encouraging flight to the suburbs; it has eroded our families by subsidizing the separation of the old and the young and by its subversive welfare programs; it is responsible for most of the excesses of schooling, the distortion of transportation, and the explosion of health-care costs that Illich would have us blame on industry. Ours is the tragedy of *political nemesis.* ◻

Dr. Maccabee earned a Ph.D. from the University of California Berkeley in 1966 and subsequently taught and did research on medical applications of nuclear technology. Desiring more involvement with the practical side of cancer treatment, he received an M.D. from the University of Miami in 1975 and is currently a resident physician in radiation oncology at the University of California San Francisco.

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Secular Fundamentalism

viewpoint

Edith Efron

Recently, in *National Review*, a libertarian named Jerome Tuccille published an attack on the libertarian movement. It was a short description of a small group of libertarian cultists, and of their characteristically futile patterns of thought. The description, in many ways, was accurate, and Tuccille may have performed a service by bringing the problem out into the open. The need to discuss it does not lie in some medieval quest for self-moritification, but rather in the fact that one cannot cure a malady that one does not acknowledge.

The most important perspective one can acquire on the problem of the cultist mentality is to see its universality. It is not unique to libertarians. The problem, in fact, is epidemic in every cultural and political group in the land. The country is literally overrun by liberal robots, emitting their latest trendy responses; by conservative robots emitting the entrenched prejudices of their grandfathers; and by socialist robots, consumerist robots, Black Panther robots, health food robots, gay robots, Moonie robots, feminist robots, etc., etc.—all reciting their sacred texts. To the degree that there is sense or sensibility in any of these movements, they are almost obliterated by the ritualistic incantations.

The reasons for this phenomenon are hard to grasp when the robot is an ally, but they are glaringly obvious when he is not. The knee-jerk liberal, who exists in the greatest numbers, is quite transparent. His reflexive concepts clearly serve as a substitute for knowledge, for thought, for judgment, for independent moral vision. His automated repertoire gives him the illusion that he understands a complicated world, and, above all, that he is a vessel of rectitude. But that is also an explanation of every other kind of "movement" robot. The same mental process is occurring in all—and in all cases it hurls the individual out of contact with reality.

If the libertarian cultist is similar, in principle, to all other cultists, he differs strikingly in details. Characteristically, he is young and inexperienced. He gulps down a few books by libertarian writers, and rushes to change this society before he has understood either this society or the books. He tends to restrict himself to a shrunken conceptual repertoire. It generally consists of a one-note opposition to the evil of government intervention, and frequently this is the only aspect of social reality of which he seems to be aware. Monumentally important political, social, cultural and intellectual problems leave the cultist indifferent. He is only concerned with government misdeeds. His "thinking", consequently, is eternally out of context, and his value system flattened and hostile. His disconnection from what he often refers to as "the real world" leaves him ignorant of the workings of this society. Fixated on a handful of concepts lifted from Ayn Rand or Murray Rothbard or both, he reduces all experience to those concepts, and shelters his reductionism with severe moral rigidity. He is, to cite the illuminating phrase of Michael Novak, a "secular fundamentalist." And it is of interest to note that Mr. Novak was speaking of morally rigid liberals when he identified the phenomenon.

Now, is there a solution for this problem? There is, indeed—and that is why it's so useful to think about cultism-in-general, and not just about the libertarian form thereof. All cultists are gripped by the desire for a simple world which can be explained by a few all-purpose formulas. Thus, the first solution is simply to face the fact that it isn't that kind of world at all. How does one go about such "facing"? By reading. The prescribed regimen is six months of steady reading of specialized journals and books in a half-dozen fields. The cultist will emerge from that regimen staggering in salutory confusion, and equipped with a new kind of certainty. He will know that the world is a very complicated place and that a pocketful of formulas will not explain it. At one fell swoop, he will lose the worst form of his ignorance—his ignorance of being ignorant. And his sense of moral superiority, falsely hitched to three and a half ideas, will die a swift death. He will, we must suppose, still remain attached to the idea of political liberty — but he will realize that just saying his beads ferociously will get him no place.

The second solution emerges from the other major trait of all cultists—namely their disconnectedness from social reality. And again, the solution is tailormade to the symptom: To cure disconnectedness, one must connect. Connect with what? In the case of a libertarian, he must connect with those individuals or groups who are moving in the direction of liberty. In other words, he must look for fellow travellers. If he does, he will discover from his reading that the country is now full of them. There are the philosophers who now know that by defining "rights" as arbitrary grants from the State, they have destroyed the concept of "rights." There are the economists who now know that their Keynesian-interventionist formulas are bankrupt. There are the neo-conservatives who now know that the powers of the State must be curbed. There are the businessmen, labor leaders and workers who now know that the "public interest" regulators are destroying industries and jobs. There are the black leaders who now know that turning blacks into wards of the State is destroying their humanity. All are moving in the right direction. And people who are walking in the direction of liberty should be joined. One should not repudiate such fellow travellers because of philosophical differences; one should connect with them in the area of philosophical similarities. That connectedness will destroy cultism forever, as the libertarian learns what a fight for real liberty, among real people, in a real society, really means. He will learn that he cannot leap, by fantasy, into an ideal world—he must fight for it step by step, with the aid of others.

Jerry Tuccille did not mention it, for reasons best known to himself, but there are many libertarians, today, who are already functioning effectively in this society, who are already struggling to solve specific problems, who are already

connected to real people in a real world who share some, if not all, of their goals. Many such libertarians arrived at this sensible state by the simple act of growing up; usually they are older than the cultists. But there's no point in hanging around until one ripens like a cheese. There's work to be done. The most important message I would give to young libertarians is this: libertarianism isn't an imaginary world; it isn't a bible; it isn't a spiritual state; it isn't a chastity belt. It is a *compass.*

Contributing editor Edith Efron writes a regular column for *TV Guide* and is the author of several books. Her viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with those of Alan Reynolds and Tibor Machan.

experience

(Every second month, Experience *will cover aspects of American culture and lifestyles, as seen by James Dale Davidson. Since founding the National Taxpayers Union in 1969, Davidson has supplemented his political activities with writings on American folkways, for publications ranging from the Washington Post to Playboy magazine.)*

Nowhere Fast

The 55 mile-per-hour speed limit is apparently becoming a settled aspect of American life. All the politicians are for it. And since politicians write the laws, prospects are glum for any easing of speed restrictions. This may not seem to matter to anyone who is not a driving enthusiast, but for the millions who *do* like to drive, much of the fun has been lost. Hitting the open road at such dawdling speeds practically turns the clock back to the time before the invention of the V-8 engine.

For all its wide acceptance, however, the theory of speed limits is by no means compelling. It supposes that a remote authority has a better grasp of the particulars which bear upon determination of safe driving speed than does the actual driver. Of course, the driver knows the weather, time of day, incidence of traffic, and the design of his own vehicle. The authority does not. The driver knows about his own driving skills. The authority does not. Nor does the authority know whether the driver's tires are new or old, whether his car is well-maintained, or how fast it will stop. In spite of all this, it is generally accepted in this country that the authority is in a better position to know at what speed a vehicle may be operated than is the person sitting behind the wheel.

Speed limits were questionable enough when maximum rates varied from 65 to 90 mph. Now even these last concessions to the driver's intelligence have been abandoned. The speed limit is 55 everywhere. Never mind that America is a land of more than three and a half million square miles with geography and driving conditions as varied as any on earth. There are thousands of miles of road through open, empty prairie where you could drive 100 miles an hour, fall asleep at the wheel, and still come out safely unless you had the bad fortune to run into a billboard. But that doesn't matter. The authorities have decreed the maximum safe speed to be 55.

The result of all the creeping along is supposed to be an energy savings. And perhaps it is. But why save a few dribbles of energy, especially when it can cost you more to go 55 than it would to travel at 70, the speed at which most modern motor vehicles were designed to cruise? Consider this. If you saved two dollars on gas by driving at 55 instead of 70 on a 250-mile trip, the only way you could come out ahead is if you calculate that your time is worth less than the minimum wage. Note that it would be illegal to hire anyone else to drive your car and value his time so lowly. If, as is probable, your time is worth more than the minimum wage, your losses from the speed limit are even greater.

But suppose that your time is absolutely worthless. Suppose that you dispute the old aphorism that time is money. Imagine that you don't care how much time you waste driving on the highway. The speed limit still costs you money. It costs you even if you don't drive, because lower speed limits place higher transportation costs on about 80 percent of everything you buy. That is the portion of commerce carried by truck, and truck drivers are well paid. For every delivery made at 55 which could have been made at 70, you and other consumers pay an "inefficiency surcharge" of higher wages because it took the driver 21 percent longer than necessary to reach his destination.

West Germany, which has suffered less economic damage from higher oil prices than we have, has recognized the greater efficiency of higher speed limits by having none at all. German drivers on the open road may travel as fast as their best judgment permits. They need no better consideration to drive safely than the desire to keep their bodies intact. And they do about as well as we do, haunted as we are by our highway patrols and state police with speed traps and new-fangled radar guns.

The West Germans have not only been spared the indignity of speed limits. They have been spared the greater indignity of being subjected to political mindwarp stipulating that it is patriotic duty to poke along the highway. Here, the Germans have been spared by geology. They have no domestic petroleum production. So no politician has been willing to make himself absurd by pretending that driving more slowly would end dependence upon foreign crude. The Germans are dependent and they know it. But so what? They are dependent upon foreign suppliers for oranges and bananas also, yet no one has proposed that it is a patriotic duty to eat less fruit salad. In either case, foreign supplies can readily be obtained through peaceful trade.

If the Germans, without oil of their own, can find logic to drive 100 m.p.h. on the autobahn, why must Americans be reduced to poking along? Domestic American petroleum production has been 22 quadrillion BTU's annually. This considered, what makes our situation so much more desperate than Germany's? Why indeed, should we respond to a supposed shortage of oil by proposing to reduce foreign purchases and exhausting our own supplies first? That's like having a person who expects famine prepare for it by refusing to purchase additional food supplies, and deciding instead to deplete his own cupboard. How can such illogic be explained?

The answer is that our lowered speed limits and other projects to create "energy independence" are not really designed to save energy so much as they are to obscure the effects of inflation. The so-called "energy crisis" (at least in its current dimensions) does not arise from a lack of oil, of which there is plenty, but from a glut of paper money. The Germans, with the world's largest monetary reserves and strongest economy, can buy all the oil they want. Their money is good.

If our government kept the dollar sound, we'd have no problem either. But it hasn't and we do. The oil producers have lost money in the past because of our inflation and they don't want to be caught again. That is why OPEC stopped calculating prices in dollars. And that is why, sooner or later, the oil producers may no longer be willing to accept depreciating paper money in exchange for good petroleum.

When that happens, our government will be faced with two choices: either stop

inflation or stop importing foreign oil. If our dependency upon foreign oil is great, the American people would never tolerate a vast drop in living standards merely to enable politicians to continue inflation. So inflation would be stopped and the oil would continue to flow. On the other hand, if foreign oil dependency were minor, the politicians could continue the inflation without regard to the consequences. Thus, the cynical speed limit laws designed to force you to reduce gasoline consumption, and thereby help neutralize pressures to stop inflation. They want you to drive your sports car like a Pinto so they can continue to print irredeemable paper money.

So the next time you have an opportunity to speed and get away with it, remember that inflation is all you conserve by foregoing the pleasures of driving.

James Dale Davidson

foreign correspondent

Britain's Looming Choice

Kingston-on-Thames. At present, British politics are dominated by speculation over the date of the next general election. Legally, the present Parliament—which was elected in October, 1974—can run until October, 1979. But everybody expects the Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, to hold an election before then. Indeed, it is pretty certain that he would hold an election now if he thought he had a 50-50 chance of winning. His party no longer has a majority in the House of Commons. He can no longer hope to get controversial socialist legislation passed, and he is sustained in office by a pact with the 12 liberal MPs, who fear that they would be annihilated at the polls were an election held this year.

Callaghan's only hope of survival lies in the effect of North Sea oil on the balance of payments and on government revenue. Popular tax cuts and a feeling that Britain has "turned the corner," he reckons, might make Labour popular enough to win if the election could be held in October, 1978, or later.

At the moment Labour is intensely unpopular. Local government elections this spring, and Parliamentary by-elections caused by the death or retirement of sitting MPs, have been shattering for the Labour Party. Inflation is still running at over 17 percent and unemployment is well over the one million mark.

So the Conservative Party must be regarded as the firm favorite to form the next government. From the libertarian standpoint, this would be a change for the better—although that claim needs to be qualified in a number of ways. The Conservatives, or the Tories, do reduce personal taxation when they are in office. They have never done it to the extent of making Britain into a relatively low-taxed country, but some increase in the proportion of income that you are allowed to spend yourself is a normal feature of Tory rule. For small mercies one must be thankful.

Very well, but Labour may be cutting taxes too. The larger and more important question is to what extent the Tories would try to make a difference in the relationship between the individual and the State in Britain. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the Tory leader, has spoken privately with some force about the need to change the recent course of British history. Given the steady leftward drift in Labour policy—particularly as evidenced in party (as opposed to governmental) documents calling for further State takeovers of, for example, the big banks and insurance companies—it is possible to see Britain in a few years time as an East European-style socialist society in all important respects.

The next Tory government may be our last chance to change course. But the depressing thing about the Tory party is the absence of a positive, concrete program for doing so. Mrs. Thatcher is tough and vigorous, but she talks for the most part in abstract generalities. She is evasive when pushed onto specific issues.

The Tories are not proposing to take any industry—such as iron and steel—out of State control, which is already in that grip. Much could be achieved, in time, by leaving the present State sector as it is, provided that the industries and enterprises concerned were deprived of their monopoly status. The Tories are not proposing to do even that.

True, Mrs. Thatcher has talked privately about such an idea in a favorable way. But we get no sign of it in the official statements of the Tory party. Perhaps the Conservatives will learn. The books of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, and even old Bastiat, are in favor in leading Tory circles in a way that they have never been before. No harm, and maybe some good, can come of that.

The public as a whole, nonetheless, is far from ready for the full libertarian message. But the British remain, in fact if not in effect, a profoundly anti-socialist nation. There never has been a recorded popular majority for Labour in any general election in this country.

On the practical day-to-day level one is bound to be pessimistic about the future. In the longer term I believe the British will get out of the grasp of collectivism. If challenged, however, I am obliged to admit that this is more a matter of faith than reason.

Be sure, though, that within a year of the Tories taking office we shall know whether Britain is fated for full collectivism, at least for a generation, or whether the issue remains open. The fact that the latter is the outer limit of rational optimism tells you much about the condition of Britain.

Pauline Russell

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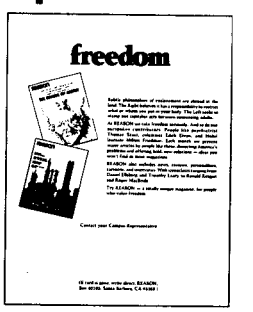

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washington watch

Energy in the Spotlight

The most important legislative push in the next month or so is likely to be in the field of energy. Commentators have noted that the House denied Carter some of his proposals, but the bulk of the disaster passed through with little effective opposition. It is surprising, in retrospect, to consider how quickly the House acted on the Carter package and the paucity of serious study and consideration which was given to the "program."

In the Senate there may be more substantial opposition. Word is that the Senate may even pass deregulation of the price of natural gas, which would make for a new battle in the Conference Committee.

The National Taxpayers Union, the Libertarian Party, and Libertarian Advocate, along with the American Conservative Union and some Republicans, have been waging a valiant but probably rearguard action against the Carter energy juggernaut. NTU has been the most public and the most effective, with their newspaper ads proclaiming that there is no energy crisis.

The current battleground is in the Senate. The fact that Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long comes from the oil producing state of Lousiana seems to be the most hopeful sign. Letters to Senators in opposition to the deathgrip of government control which the Carter program represents are extremely important now (U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510). If you want ammunition, get the August issue of *Harper's* and read Editor Lewis Lapham's article, "The Energy Debacle." Good stuff from an unexpected source.

Minimum Wage Battle

There may be a close battle over Carter's proposal to raise the minimum wage this year, even though the unions have made a great deal of noise expressing discontent with the parsimonious level. Causing concern is the automatic escalator clause in this legislation, which would provide automatic increases in the future without a vote in Congress.

Most Congressmen aren't about to admit it, but many can see a relationship between rising minimum wages and rising unemployment, particularly among blacks and teenagers. There have been voices in surprising quarters supporting an exemption for teenagers from minimum wage laws.

Letters to Congress (U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510) in opposition to increased minimum wages, the escalator clause, and in favor of an exemption for teenage employees might be helpful.

Airline Regulatory Reform

The Congress took its August recess before the Senate Commerce Committee had come up with a final version of the Cannon-Kennedy measure to reform CAB regulation of airlines. Letters to your Senators in favor of airline regulatory reform are still needed.

The next field of battle will be the House, where Aviation Subcommittee Chairman Glenn Anderson (D-CA) has been dragging his feet on introducing a reform proposal. By the time this is printed he will probably have introduced a bill, but pressure on him and other Congressmen will be important.

Airline regulatory reform is proving to be a case study of how difficult genuine regulatory reform is likely to be. In January many people felt that the skids had been greased, what with Administration support and the support of Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and other prominent politicos. But the airline industry and unions which oppose reform have been very effective in pressuring Congress, and the matter has dragged on so long now that final action will probably not come until next year.

Somehow we must find a way around the fact that regulation generally benefits a few special interests so heavily that they have tremendous incentive to oppose it, while the potential beneficiaries of deregulation are diffused and have only a small economic stake. I have hoped that the ideological zeal of libertarians could move them to action, but, with some gratifying exceptions, I have had little success in urging libertarians to write to their legislators on the issue.

If you think airline reform is taking a long time, wait until we go after the Interstate Commerce Commission. The economic case against surface transportation regulation is, if anything, more compelling. But the interest groups have their forces well-marshalled. Of course, if airline reform fails, there is no chance, repeat *no chance,* of any success against the ICC. So get those cards and letters going.

Backdoor Divestiture

Divestiture, or breaking up the oil companies, is still controversial in most quarters. One bill, the Energy Leasing Amendment of 1977 (HR 5709) would place pressure on the oil companies through the back door. It would prevent companies which are vertically or horizontally integrated from bidding on federal leases. Since so much of the potential oil-producing land is unfortunately under government control, this provision would force companies to divest or stop looking for a great deal of the oil which geologists believe is available. Cards and letters in opposition would be welcome.

Briefly Noted

☐ The Heritage Foundation (513 C St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002) has published an interesting study of the drive to unionize the textile industry through the J.P. Stevens plant in North Carolina. Ask for Backgrounder #29. Heritage has also done good work on the Carter energy package.

☐ The American Enterprise Institute (1150-17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) is publishing the Ford Administration papers on regulatory reform. The volume on airline regulation is quite good, and some of the others are not bad. They're cautious in approach, but a good source of facts and figures.

Alan Bock

Alan Bock is director of Libertarian Advocate, a Washington-based pro-freedom lobbying organization.

LUCIFER'S LEXICON

by L.A. Rollins

apathetic, adj. Indifferent toward the indifferent; not caring whether one is ruled by Tweedlecrat or Tweedlepublican.

discrimination, n. The mother of equality.

freedom fighter, n. One who fights freedom.

incursion, n. A third-rate invasion.

power elite, n. The cream of the crap.

warrantless entry, n. Unwarranted entry.

spotlight

Prescribing Freedom

Moving towards a free society requires not only ideals, but new personalities and institutions to help promote the ideas. Deep in the heart of Texas is a young country doctor whose dedication to advancing the libertarian cause has been extraordinary.

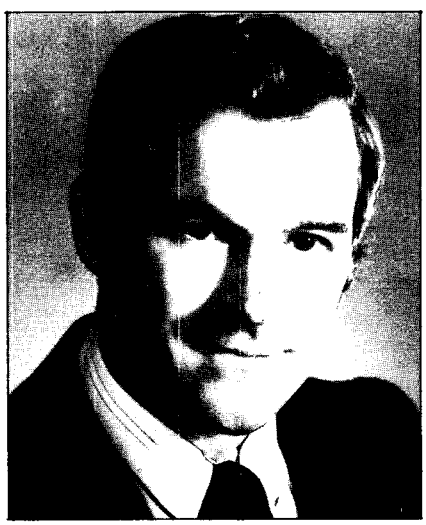
Dr. Ron Paul first came to national prominence by winning a special Congressional election in April, 1976. He was the first Republican Congressman ever elected from his Houston district. While in Washington, Congressman Paul quickly gained the nickname "Dr. No." Other compliments received were the National Associated Businessmen's "Watchdog of the Treasury" Award for a 100 percent pro-business voting record, and the National Federation of Independent Business's award as a "Guardian of Small Business."

Congressman Paul consistently opposed statism during his tenure in Washington, which was cut short by his extremely narrow defeat in the regular election last November. Voting against new welfare measures for business such as the B-1 bomber, and adamantly opposing union privileges, he consistently fought for the rights of the individual against the special interests of organized lobbies.

One of the Dr. Paul's most clear-cut victories came with his opposition to H.R. 13955, a piece of legislation that no one but he opposed in committee. In June, 1976, Paul almost singlehandedly defeated the bill, which gave Congressional endorsement of the International Monetary Fund's giveaway of one third of its gold reserves (mostly American gold) as foreign aid to other countries.

Dr. Paul was the only member of the House Banking and Currency Committee to oppose the Administration-backed measure. The Texas Republican submitted lengthy dissenting views on the bill, cataloguing the dismal record of the IMF. In a speech on the House floor, Congressman Paul observed: "The IMF was set up to stabilize international currency fluctuations by buying and selling currencies against each other. For this purpose, the United States and other members of the IMF contributed large amounts of gold which could be used as reserves. Now we are told that gold is no longer important to the international monetary system and has no monetary value. The IMF, rather than simply returning its gold to the contributor nations, has decided to sell it off and give away the profits. At the very least this is clearly outside the function of the IMF, and most probably illegal." Swayed by his arguments, Paul's colleagues voted down the bill.

While in office, Congressman Paul introduced numerous bills that had no chance of passing, but which afforded many observers an opportunity to comment on their worth. Some of his bills would have abolished the Private Express Statutes that create a postal monopoly, rescinded the automatic cost of living pay increase for Congressmen, abolished the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, repealed the 1968 Federal Gun Control Act, ended the bounty program by which the IRS rewards citizens for reporting their neighbors, reduced the U.S. contribution to the United Nations from 25 percent to less than one percent of its budget (an amount equal to our representation there), privatized all of the House of Representatives cafeterias, and supported a Constitutional amendment requiring government to operate on a balanced budget.



Dr. Ron Paul

A 42-year-old father of five children, Dr. Paul became acquainted with libertarian thinkers through his reading of F.A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, and Henry Hazlitt. Their analyses of the importance of freedom persuaded him to run for Congress for the first time in 1974, after six years of practicing medicine in Houston. He rolled up 30 percent of the vote in a campaign that established him as an articulate spokesman for taxpayers and an inflation-weary public. "If inflation continues unabated, what future is there for any of us in our private professional ambitions?" he asks. "Inflation must be curbed or we will have nothing to live for, let alone with." With the experience gained from his first campaign, Dr. Paul won on his next attempt in a special election in 1976.

Losing re-election in November by a mere 268 out of 194,000 votes—in a campaign marked by signs of apparent vote fraud—Dr. Paul plans to run for Congress again in 1978. He intends to campaign again as a Republican; although he supports the goals of the Libertarian Party, he believes that its image at present scares away voters. "I would get two or three percent of the vote if I ran as a Libertarian Party candidate," he says. "I think the ideal is for libertarians to work both in the new party and the old."

In the meantime, Dr. Paul maintains several offices in his district to further his ideological efforts. He publishes a monthly newsletter for over 4000 subscribers, supplemented by a telephone editorial network for hundreds of callers who want to hear his weekly comments on the latest developments in Washington. Conservative groups sharing his economic views have made him in heavy demand as a speaker—and as a consistent libertarian on both economic and social issues, Dr. Paul has brought a welcome influence to the Citizens Cabinet as its Secretary of Labor.

Explicitly libertarian organizations have also been helped by his efforts. Besides speaking for and contributing to the Libertarian Party, Dr. Paul has boosted such groups as the Libertarian Health Association and the Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives. Throughout his work, the engaging, personable doctor from Houston is determined to treat the causes, rather than the symptoms, of prevailing social problems. If his success in promoting freedom to date is a guide, the prognosis for libertarian ideals will continue to improve in the future. ◻

LUCIFER'S LEXICON

by L.A. Rollins

white lie, n. A lie intended to spare someone's feelings, usually one's own.

Zionist, n. One who wants the Jews to go back where they came from.

movies

MacArthur • One on One • Black and White in Color • Sinbad and the Eye of the Tiger

• It was with some misgivings that I went to see **MACARTHUR**. Considering the bias of the media on all matters political or economic, I wondered what kind of hatchet-job they were going to do on one of their favorite villians. But on this score I need not have worried, perhaps for the same reason as in *Patton*: the record is so familiar that they would hardly have dared to present glaring factual errors. They could, of course, have distorted the account in other ways: by juxtaposing scenes in such a way as to make a character appear ridiculous, by filming it in a general tone of derision, or by including only scenes that presented one point of view and omitting all others; but any such fears were also without foundation in this case.

The film traces General MacArthur's career from the invasion of the Philippines in 1942 to his farewell speech at West Point in the late 1950's. The historical record is left to speak for itself, and there is enough material to feed both sides in the controversy. On one side, we are given (for example) MacArthur's prediction that the Chinese would not enter the Korean war; on the other side, we are given MacArthur as a brilliant military strategist, such as his strategy of island-hopping in the Pacific war and circumventing the enemy rather than engaging them head-on from one island to the next. Far from being underplayed, MacArthur's policy as head of the Japanese occupation forces of refusing to treat Japan as a conquered nation but as one that must be rebuilt, and whose people must be granted their civil liberties from the outset, is repeatedly emphasized, although this interlude between the two wars does not yield easily to cinematic treatment. Even MacArthur's personal characteristics are treated sympathetically: he does not come through as a posturing self-indulgent egotist but as an intelligent and warm human being, dedicated to acting on principle, with incisive perceptions of reality and an implacable hatred of communism (nor is this last feature ridiculed). It is possible for MacArthur haters to come out still hating him, and certainly his admirers will come out still admiring him; the viewer is left to judge for himself. By contrast, Roosevelt is presented as vain and unprincipled, and Truman as a friendly down-to-earth bumbler, at least in military matters.

The film tries so hard to be historically accurate that it loses somewhat in drama. To build scenes effectively a certain amount of dramatic license is required, and this involves usually "playing around with the facts" more than the makers of this film apparently chose to do. The speeches, for example, are taken verbatim from MacArthur's public utterances. But where fiction would have required developing a theme to its conclusion, history goes on its way without finishing what it started, and the film follows history. The result is that one's sense of drama is sometimes frustrated, but the record is set clearly before us. Such is the conflict that always occurs when aesthetic requirements clash with those of factual accuracy.

The film is not as dramatic as *Patton*; even when there was an opportunity to present grand climaxes or electric confrontation-scenes, this was not done if the historical record did not support such scenes. Some interstitial scenes were probably inventions of script-writers (Roosevelt at Pearl Harbor: Why haven't you returned to the U.S. during all these years? MacArthur: I believe that the commander should always be with his men. Roosevelt: I agree—and that's why I'm here!), but the temptation to invent such scenes is usually resisted, presumably in the interests of fidelity to history.

The direction is competent without being inspired, and for a change one can fault it for the film's brevity—each scene is cut to the bone, and one could wish that some of the development had been more leisurely. Gregory Peck, whether he is acting in *MacArthur* or *The Omen*, can always be relied on to give a sincere, plausible, no-nonsense performance. On balance, the film is more informative than inspiring, more factual than dramatic. When it is dramatic, it is only because the segment of history being presented has itself a dramatic quality. If there are few scenes in which we are deeply moved, there are also few or none in which we fail to be interested and involved as eyewitnesses to history. To those who remember the period, the film recaptures and revivifies the memory of two segments of American history (World War II, Korean War); to those in their 20's or younger, it will give them a factual account of details of recent history of which many of them may previously have been ignorant.

—John Hospers

• Though the first half of **ONE ON ONE** drags a bit, as the protagonist becomes acclimated to details of freshman college life which are so familiar as already to be cliches, the film gathers momentum and becomes intermittently exciting and moving during the second half. If you like basketball, and are interested in university politics toward athletic stars, you will find this film interesting and informative. If you don't particularly care about such themes, you will still find things of interest: the characterization (by Robbie Benson) of the innocent freshman from Colorado adjusting to the rules of a west coast university is nicely done; and the film is definitely up-beat, showing how a determined student beats the odds and triumphs over the system. The confrontation scenes between the student and the head coach are dramatically the best things in the film—that and the climactic basketball game—and will make you either angry (at the coach) or admiring (of the courageous student).

Because it deals with a sport, and because it shows how erstwhile losers can become winners, this film has been compared with last year's *Rocky*. There is some basis for comparison, though this one does not sustain the dramatic quality as well as *Rocky* did, and does not have a pattern of revealing textural details that contribute to a fulfilling sense of the whole as *Rocky* did. But the two are in the same genre nonetheless, and if you liked *Rocky* you are not likely to dislike this one. Low-key and familiar though it is, it's far from being a waste of time. It is probably one of the season's best films, if one considers the rest of the crop with which it has to be compared.

—J.H.

• New Year's, 1915. A lonely outpost in French West Africa, hot, sleepy, uneventful, a few French soldiers, a Catholic mission, and hundreds of natives. A few miles away, a similar German outpost. None of them know yet that World War I has broken out in Europe. Finally the mail from Europe arrives, and suddenly they discover that they're at war.

You take it up from there. I've described the opening situation; the plot, such as it is, is too good to give away. Not that you should expect much in the way of heavy drama or spectacle; **BLACK AND WHITE IN COLOR** is low-keyed and develops at a leisurely pace, never letting action take precedence over some insight into the foibles of men or an

astute observation about the peculiarities of human relationships. French films are the best at doing this, and this is a superior French film.

More than 50 years after the war, and with French colonialism also a thing of the past, perhaps the makers of this film can afford to take an Olympian stance toward all this. At any rate, they do, and the result is delightful. The film is beautifully crafted, the characters well individuated, the slender plot developed with impeccable good taste. The way it is all said is much more elegant than what is said. Anyway, for a change, you come out of the theater feeling good—and not recalling many recent films that made you feel that way. It may even occur to you that you don't remember seeing a more satisfying film in all of 1977.

—J.H.

• One of the few G-rated films not made by Disney studios, **SINBAD AND THE EYE OF THE TIGER** is good children's entertainment. It has interesting special effects and a simple and engaging story line. It retains, however, none of the fascination of the Arabian Nights tales. It's a far cry from a classic like *The Thief of Baghdad*, with its genii and flying carpets and the atmosphere of magic and enchantment which transports us into an exciting world of fantasy. This one takes place mostly in the Arctic, and the fantasy-world is only incompletely sustained. Any connection with the Sinbad tales you've read is strictly coincidental.

—J.H.

publisher's notes

• EDITORS' ACTIVITIES

Senior editor Tibor Machan was the focus of commentary in, of all places, *Pravda* (Dec. 10, 1976). The comment, on what passes for the newspaper's Op-Ed page, attacked and distorted Machan's *Human Rights and Human Liberties* (Nelson-Hall, 1975) for presenting a defense of property rights which, says *Pravda*, is but a cover for the vested interests of rich capitalists. Machan, who is not what one could call wealthy, finds this a predictable bit of Marxist "argumentation." Why did *Pravda* single out Machan's book for attack? Perhaps some clever Russian wanted the readers to know about some of the better ideas circulating outside the U.S.S.R.

Book review editor Marty Zupan and senior editor Machan have both been published in the most recent issue of *The Occasional Review*. Zupan's piece discusses Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, presenting a critique Kuhn's disciples need to come to terms with. Machan's essay reviews Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, showing both the brilliant construction and serious structural flaws of the now-famous volume. Machan's critique also focuses on Nozick's flawed defense of limited government, noting that Nozick's is not the only defense around.

Managing editor Mark Frazier recently had his third article accepted by *Reader's Digest*—this one on the numerous cost-cutting innovations introduced to local government by Scottsdale, AZ. Frazier is hard at work editing and producing a manual and materials kit for officials of newly incorporating communities. The materials, to be made available by the Local Government Center, will help those communities take maximum advantage of such techniques as private contracting right from the start, to minimize the need for taxes and bureacracy. Frazier is also the editor in chief of a new magazine, *Santa Barbara Tomorrow*, aimed at fostering an appreciation of economic realities at the local level.

Editor Robert Poole, Jr., recently signed a contract with New York publisher Free Life Editions to produce a new hardcover book dealing with tax-saving methods in local government. The book will be published in 1978. Poole has received a grant from the Cato Institute to research free market alternatives to the Federal Aviation Administration. The FAA study is intended as one chapter of Poole's projected book on alternatives to the major federal regulatory agencies. Poole continues to speak before various groups, in September addressing the Libertarian Social Club of the District of Columbia. In October he delivered a paper on "Hidden Perils in Government Support of Space Activities" at the 23rd annual meeting of the American Astronautical Society, devoted to The Industrialization of Space.

• RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Graduate students seeking research projects involving transportation may wish to check out a new program offered by the National Industrial Traffic League (NITL). The nation's largest shippers' trade group has assembled a pool of transportation problems which need studying. In some cases NITL will provide assistance in conducting the research. NITL has taken positions favorable to regulatory reform of both the CAB and the ICC. Contact project leader William L. Seidel at (216) 566-2430 for further information.

• LIBERTARIAN BROADCASTS

A Honolulu group of students of Objectivism has launched a radio program called Forum for Objective Expression. Under an agreement with Audio Forum, the program will broadcast tapes featuring talks by such figures as John Hospers, Murray Rothbard, and Nathaniel Branden. The program appears the last Sunday of every month at 11 P.M. on KLEI-AM. Discussions are also underway with the University of Hawaii's KTUH. Groups in other cities may be able to make similar arrangements with Audio Forum and with broadcasters seeking public affairs programming.

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frontlines

Taxation and Theft

A central tenet of the libertarian philosophy is the rejection of coercive collections for social functions. If it is wrong to enslave your neighbors to mow your front lawn or paint your house, it is equally wrong to advocate taxation to mow the city parks or paint the old courthouse. The communal element in these ends still cannot justify the means.

Sophisticated conservative writers have argued that taxes are like membership dues in the great social club known as civilization. Apologists have the gall to say that without taxation we could not enjoy the benefits of government regulation. Social democrats and government employees are more forthright—without heavy taxes, they could not finance programs to attack the poor at the expense of the malefactors of great wealth (anyone with a before-tax income of more than $12,000).

The mission of libertarian activism is to spread the idea that government regulation and taxes are not only distasteful but unneeded when individual rights are respected. Last year in New Jersey, the largest taxpayers' rally ever held was organized by leaders of the New Jersey Libertarian Party. It attracted over 10,000 angry protestors to the state capitol. In the north suburbs of Chicago in August, Illinois Libertarian Party Chairman Milton Mueller and Illinois Taxpayer Union director James Tobin succeeded in stirring up a battery of public protests against the local property tax.

Last year, the Illinois legislature changed the basis for property tax assessments from the cost of improvements to "fair market value." The immediate effect of such a switch, of course, was to inflate the dollar value of homes and other real estate. The property taxes increased by half, and more than doubled in some cases. Many non-political souls suddenly felt ready for action. This was where the value of the Libertarian Party organizational structure paid off. Mueller and Tobin contacted Leonard Hartmann, an Evanston, IL, resident quoted in a Chicago *Tribune* article about taxpayer outrage. Hartmann agreed to head up a "Taxpayers Protest Committee."

After securing a town hall for a meeting, committee leaders expected that about 50 people would attend. More than 200 packed the room instead. Most had heard about the protest meeting by word of mouth, since very little publicity or advance notice had been possible. The protest mushroomed from there. Subsequent meetings of the Taxpayers Protest Committee drew extensive newspaper and television coverage, and the governor of the state met with a delegation of the protestors. The Cook County Assessor has proposed a token tax rate cut. Every local government official in the suburbs has made some sort of statement about government spending. Most importantly, over a million solid suburbanites have seen their neighbors gathering on street-corners and town hall steps, denouncing taxation, and carrying placards supplied by Mueller and Tobin that read "Don't Tread on Me," and "Taxation is Theft."

Slicing the Pie

Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal told a public forum in St. Louis last Spring, "There's no political percentage in tax legislation. All you get is black eyes." This is the political effect of a policy of social-justice-cum-beggar-thy-neighbor. For the past 60 years the theory of "ability to pay" has meant "stick it to somebody else"—and the taxes on business and capital investment have led to a slowing of economic growth and to higher levels of unemployment.

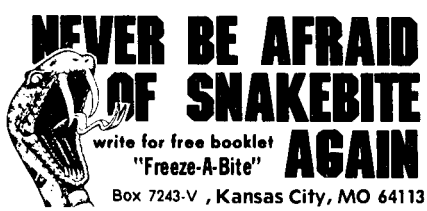
The American Council for Capital Formation, 1425 K Street NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20005, was formed two years ago to focus governmental attention on the supply side of the fiscal policy paradigm. Typically, the Establishment ideology says that increased government spending or inflated money will stimulate aggregate demand, but nobody says anything about supply. With business strangled by taxes, regulations, and paperwork, increasing demand will only increase the prices of goods and services, not the output.

For example, the two principal macroeconomic models which Congress and the Administration consult for predictions of economic policy effects both say that any tax cut will lead to slower economic growth and a net loss in government revenue. On the other hand, every major historical tax cut has led to an increase in economic growth (and an increase in revenue). This is the result of the "supply effect"—that is, if you increase the profit incentive, you will increase the output.

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long recently stated before the subcommittee on taxation that the revenue estimates which they use "have a way of being very, very far off base because of their failure to anticipate everything that happens." As Frederic Bastiat would say, this is the difference between the Seen and the Unseen. The Center for Public Policy Research at the ACCF has asked Prof. Arthur Laffer, of the University of Southern California, to develop an econometric model which will incorporate the supply effects of tax reduction. Art Laffer is known for, among other virtues, his advocacy of the gold standard and total laissez-faire in industrial organization. He consulted with Roger MacBride during the 1976 campaign on a number of issues.

Joe Cobb

This column is concerned with an analysis of activities on the "frontlines" of the battle of political principles, and with news about people who are active in the struggle. We appreciate news and ideas from readers. Please send materials to Joe Cobb, Box 1776, Chicago, IL 60690 for consideration and use in FRONTLINES.



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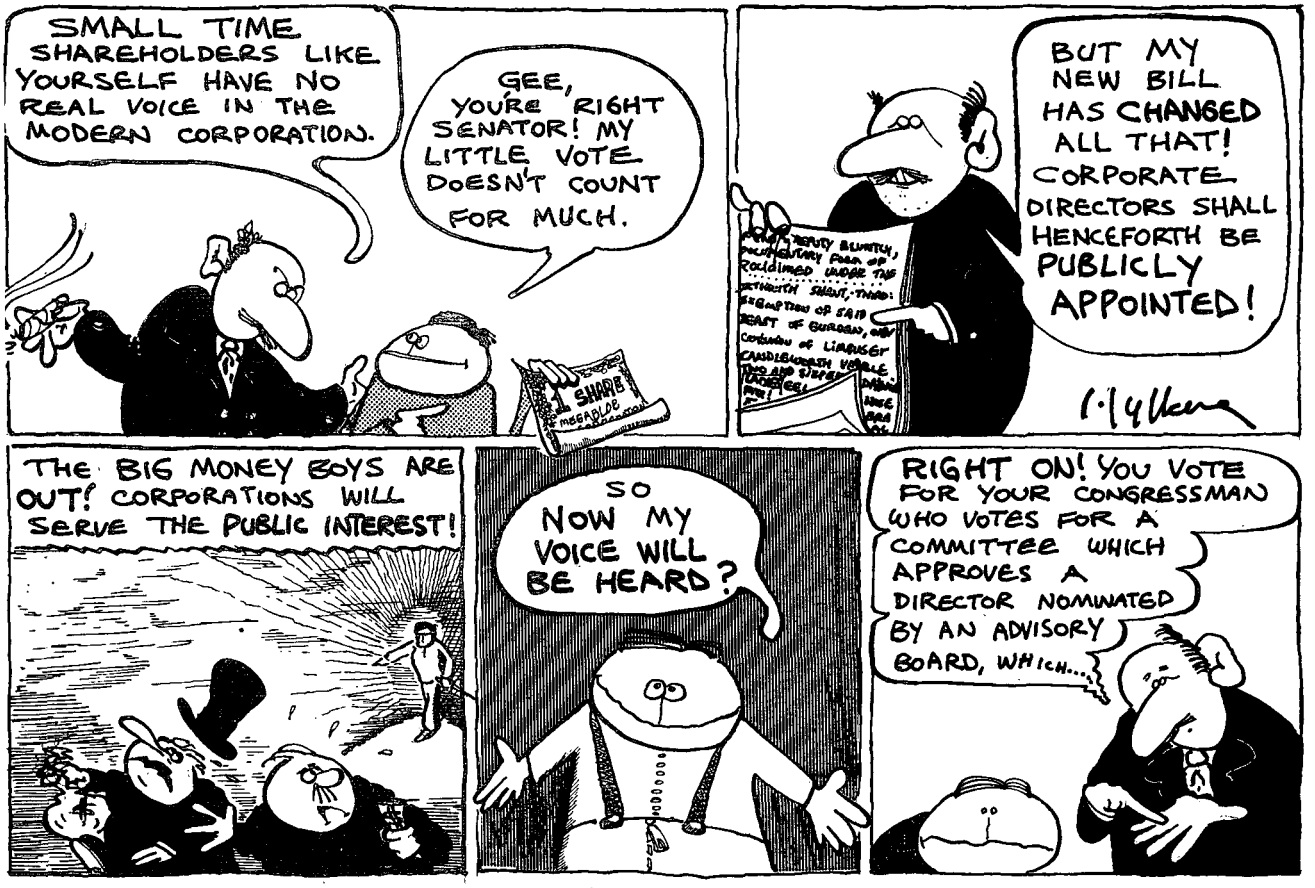
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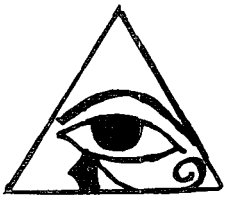
letters

Continued from p. 6.

smoker, it *should not be treated as an activity which is risky only to the participant.* It just really bugs me to see that nasty habit put in the same category with such healthful activities as skiing and swimming.

If the so-called "side stream" smoke is shown to be harmful to the non-smoker to any measureable extent, the smoker is, in effect, initiating force against the non-smoker. This being the case, the proper libertarian position on smoking must be to outlaw it everywhere except the following places: 1) In private homes, clubs, vehicles, etc., and 2) outdoors in nonpublic places. Since it is impossible to choose to work in a place where there are no smokers (the habit being so widespread), private businesses cannot be exempt. Realizing such a law would be virtually unenforceable, I would be interested in hearing from other libertarians concerning this matter.

Walter Bales
La Habra, CA



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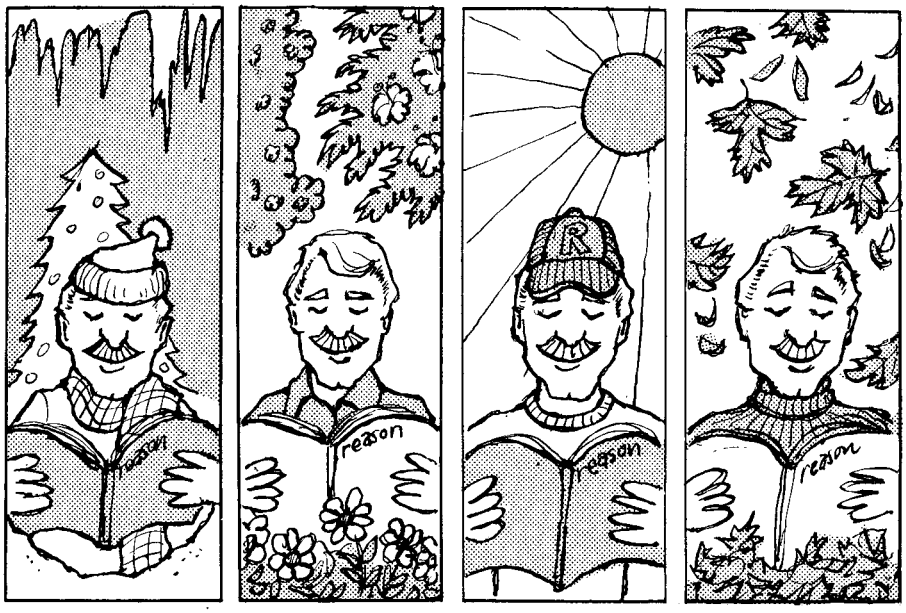

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